

**Intercultural Politeness Strategies  
in the Language of the Indian BPO Industry**

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I have read and understood The University of Edinburgh guidelines on plagiarism and declare that this written dissertation is all my own work except where I indicate otherwise by proper use of quotes and references.

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**Abstract:**

This is a data-gathering study into the cross-cultural politeness strategies evident in the discourse and grammar of Indian English speaking professionals working in the BPO industry. Using the data gathered in the India Map Task (Cowie & Pande 2011) experiment, transcriptions were made of a random selection of 5 Indian participants performing a total of 10 map task dialogues, one each with an American partner and an Indian partner. Using the move coding scheme developed by the Human Communication Research Centre at the University of Edinburgh (Carletta et al. 1996), instructions were isolated in the dialogues and analyzed for dialogue strategies, individual instruct speech acts, and salient grammatical features like modal and quasi-modal verb constructions. Results are tabulated and analyzed in depth and compared to a control group of Scottish speakers performing a similar task. The findings are (1) that the Indian speakers appear to prefer less direct approaches to giving instructions than the Scottish participants, and (2) the Indian speakers shift in behavior at the speech act level and below when instructing American followers, while retaining the same favored dialogue strategy overall in both situations.

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Globalization and Business Process Outsourcing

In the last few decades the world has experienced the rapid rise of globalization, which has driven vast transformations in culture, language, economics, technology, and virtually every aspect of human life. As Western societies have developed economically and technologically, living standards and the human resources costs of doing business have increased. At the same time, technology has opened up the possibility of remote workforces for large corporations, giving them access to the cheaper labor markets of developing countries. Thus the advent of economic globalization since the 1990s has led to the expanding phenomena of business process outsourcing (BPO), as companies choose to increase efficiency and cut costs by relocating parts of their operations overseas to countries with lower labor costs (Friginal 2007: 331). While the BPO industry comprises a number of back office functions such as accounting, IT services, and human resources, the most prominent portion of this overseas relocation derives from the outsourcing of customer support services, such as call centers, from the United States and Europe to Asia.

Many of the countries which have emerged as the top forces in BPO services are those with histories as colonial outposts of the British Empire. The primary BPO market leader in the world as of 2006 was India, followed by Canada, the Philippines, China, Mexico, and Central and Eastern Europe among other contenders (Forey & Lockwood 2007: 310). The industry is growing quickly. Between 2003 and 2008, five hundred thousand financial service jobs were projected to leave the United States to go to offshore sites (O'Neill 2003; cited in Forey & Lockwood 2007: 309), and from 1999 to 2007 over 450,000 call center jobs alone relocated from the US to India and the Philippines (Friginal 2007: 331). BPO is a major economic boon for these countries. According to researcher David Graddol (2010: 40–41), IT-BPO (the information technology portion of BPO) is a force that provides jobs for more people than any other sector of the Indian economy, employing 2 million people directly and three times as many indirectly.

## 1.2 The New Englishes

The rise of globalization and BPO has also highlighted the prominence of the emerging 'New Englishes' that have developed in these former English colonies. In the past, the regional differences and idiosyncrasies of the English spoken in the former colonial nations have usually been viewed as errors and mistakes deriving from poor education and imperfect second language acquisition. This mindset arose from the traditional prescriptive viewpoint that there is only one 'correct' English (in Britain and its colonies, this has historically been Received Pronunciation (RP), or 'BBC English'), and that all those learning English must necessarily strive to attain mastery of this version of the language. However, in recent decades scholars and language planners have begun to recognize and accept the historical reality that language is constantly developing in different ways among different populations. Such an increased understanding of the processes of language change and regional diversity have led many scholars to reconsider the status of what were formerly viewed as 'imperfect' varieties of English spoken in communities around the world.

The terminology used to describe the forms of English developing in the postcolonial nations is varied and still ill-defined. Top scholars in the field use terms such as 'World Englishes' (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008), 'New Englishes' (Platt, Weber & Ho 1984; Schneider 2003), and 'The English Languages' (MacArthur 1998). These plural labels attempt to capture the multifaceted and diverse nature of the varieties of English emerging around the globe, but Mesthrie & Bhatt (2008: 3) point out that none of these terms seem to adequately describe the phenomenon, as many of them reflect a Western-centric viewpoint in which 'world' refers to anything 'non-Western'. Similarly, it is questionable whether such regional varieties should be labelled 'new', since the phenomenon of local and changing standards has existed as long as human language and is certainly not 'new' in the history of English (see for example Blake 2006 on regional variation and change in Middle English).

Until recently, the standard model used to differentiate and categorize varieties of English around the world has been one which divides the world

into three categories according to how English is taught in the educational system: English as a Native Language (ENL), English as a Second Language (ESL), and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) (McArthur 1998: 42–43). Former colonies of English-speaking powers, such as India, Nigeria, and the Philippines, are easily categorized as ESL countries because English has survived and thrived as a unifying or at least pragmatic option for national education and government in the face of numerous indigenous languages with no clear majority. In these so-called ESL countries, English is learned for both inward-facing and outward-facing purposes. States such as Germany and the Netherlands have been classified as EFL countries where English is taught and studied for the purpose of outward-focused, international business and travel. However, it has become clear that these simplistic classifications do not capture the nuances of regional dialects, colonial standards, social class dialects, pidgin and creole varieties, immigrant varieties, and so on (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008: 4–6).

Other models have been proposed which attempt to better reflect the diverse nature of English and its development globally. They include Kachru's (1992: 356) circles model, which classifies English-speaking countries into an Inner Circle, an Outer Circle, and an Expanding Circle. These groupings largely match the ENL / ESL / EFL division. Additionally, Schneider (2003) proposes a model that further categorizes the so-called ESL countries by reference to the diachronic progression of the local variety of English through the history of contact between the indigenous populations (the IDG strand) and the colonists (the STL strand). This model outlines five stages of development in the life of a regional 'New English':

1. Foundation
2. Exonormative stabilization
3. Nativization
4. Endonormative stabilization
5. Differentiation

(Schneider 2003: 255)

According to the model, a so-called ESL country progresses along these five stages at different rates according to the different dynamics at play in the interactions between the IDG population strands and the STL strand.

Platt, Weber & Ho (1984: 2–3) define a ‘New English’ as a variety that matches four criteria: (1) it has developed through the educational system; (2) it has developed in a region where most of the population does not speak English natively; (3) it is used for various purposes among the people in the region (i.e., it is not primarily used for communicating with outsiders); and (4) it has developed some unique linguistic features, i.e., it has been ‘nativized’. The most well-known examples of New Englishes, by this definition, include Philippine English, Singapore English, Nigerian English, and the subject of this dissertation, Indian English. While Mesthrie & Bhatt (2008: 3–12) differentiate between the terms ‘World Englishes’ and ‘New Englishes’, for the purposes of this paper the terms will be used interchangeably.

### **1.3 Cross-cultural communication issues in the BPO industry**

The rise of the outsourced call center phenomenon within the BPO industry in ‘New English’ countries in Asia has created what Friginal (2009: 2) calls a “new register of cross-cultural communication” distinct from other types of business communication and intercultural conversation. This raises the opportunity for some interesting research into the New Englishes developing in the region. As Cameron (2000: 323) points out, “Sociolinguists are increasingly recognizing that the phenomenon of globalization, a set of far-reaching, transnational, economic, social and cultural changes, has implications for patterns of language-use, linguistic variation and change.” The size of the BPO industry and the large proportion of the business which caters to providing customer service functions for American organizations (and those in other English-speaking countries) leads to a high demand for English training materials and other language development resources (Friginal 2009: 32–33). At the same time, differing cultural standards of politeness and communication style between English-speaking agents in overseas call centers and their ‘native’ English-speaking customers has been shown to create breakdowns in communication and understanding, leading to frustrated customers and unsuccessful support transactions. Forey & Lockwood (2007: 323) argue that further research is desperately needed into the linguistic and discourse features of call center interactions in the BPO industry, concluding that “there appear to be significant language and communication problems that



are poorly understood by the English-speaking BPO industry and their training departments”.

The current project is an attempt to contribute to the growing field of research into the language of call center interactions by investigating some salient linguistic features of instruction-giving in the speech of call center agents in India. The project analyzes in depth a series of task-focused telephone dialogues (called Map Tasks) in which Indian agents guide a partner in drawing a route. By examining and comparing the way the Indian speakers interact with American and Indian partners, and contrasting this with native speakers performing the same tasks, this project shows that while individual style and choice of communication strategies play a major role, Indian English does appear to exhibit differing standards of politeness in giving commands, requests, and instructions, as far as can be measured through quantitative analysis of grammatical features. Moreover, the data gathered indicates, surprisingly, that the Indian agents exhibit a quantitative difference in the way they give instructions when dealing with American participants as opposed to Indian participants. The results of this study contribute to the body of empirical data being gathered on the subject of New Englishes, Indian English, call-center interactions, and cross-cultural politeness, while also possibly carrying ramifications for language training in the BPO industry.

## 2. Research methods

The current project grows out of and builds upon a number of streams of research which must be understood to properly understand the research methods which have been followed here. This section will offer a brief overview of the design of the HCRC Map Task Corpus at the University of Edinburgh and the dialogue coding system which was developed to interpret the resulting data. Next the recent adaptation of this data gathering method to a study of Indian call center speech, carried out by Cowie & Pande (2011; Pande 2010), will be described. The method by which the present study builds on these former projects will be detailed, and the raw results will be presented.

### 2.1 The HCRC Map Task Corpus

The HCRC Map Task Corpus (Anderson et al. 1991; ‘HCRC Map Task Corpus’) was developed in 1991 by the Human Communication Research Centre at the University of Edinburgh in collaboration with researchers and subjects at the University of Glasgow. The corpus was developed to create the possibility of studying specific linguistic phenomena by avoiding the problems of two alternative methods of gathering language data (Anderson et al. 1991: 351–353). On the one hand, language analysis can be based on the study of scripted, fabricated dialogues designed to elicit the specific linguistic items intended for examination. However, this approach runs the risk of not accurately reflecting authentic, spontaneous language production as most of human language occurs in reality. On the other hand, corpora of naturally occurring speech, even when they are of great size, may still not provide a large enough quantity of tokens of the linguistic elements desired for study, and in addition, may often not reveal enough of the context to properly interpret the pragmatic and other aspects of the utterances (Anderson et al. 1991: 351–352).

The Map Task creates a solution to this problem by setting up a context for spontaneous dialogue, based on specified communicative goals, within a framework of controlled variables. The task is designed to provide at the same time both spontaneous speech and to elicit specific phenomena; as it

is described by its designers, “while our dialogues are spontaneous, the corpus as a whole comprises a large, carefully controlled elicitation exercise” (‘The Design of the HCRC Map Task Corpus’).

The setup of the Map Task is relatively simple. Two participants sit across from one another and each is given a sheet with a map, neither of which is visible to the opposite participant. One participant is tasked with being the *instruction giver* and the other is the *instruction follower*. Both of the maps contain line-drawn (fictional) landmarks with labels such as ‘abandoned cottage’ and ‘old mine shaft’, but the maps are slightly different from each other in various ways (see Appendix A for an example of a pair of maps used). Some landmarks only appear on one map and not on the other; some landmarks are labelled slightly differently on the two maps (for example, the same landmark might be labelled ‘old mill’ on one map and ‘mill wheel’ on the other); and some landmarks appear twice on one map but only once on the other map (‘The Design of the HCRC Map Task Corpus’). These differences create levels of uncertainty and confusion that emulate similar situations in goal-focused professional interactions in the real world as well as providing a context for more linguistic and dialogue features to appear in the study.

The instruction giver’s map contains a start point, a route through the landmarks, and a finish point, while the instruction follower’s map contains only the start point. Participants are told that the instruction giver’s map is the correct one, and both are given the task of getting the instruction follower to reproduce the route of the instruction giver on the instruction follower’s map as accurately as possible. In order to measure and control for the effect on eye contact on the interactions, some of the participant pairs are able to see one another (but not the other’s map), while others had eye contact blocked by a barrier. Both groups are instructed not to use gestures to communicate, but they are otherwise free to say whatever is necessary to direct the instruction follower in drawing the route on his or her map.

The landmarks on the maps are designed and labelled to elicit items of phonological interest from the participants, including /t/-deletion, /d/-deletion, glottalization, nasal assimilation, and polysyllabic words with various metrical structures. After each participant’s route task is completed the subjects are asked to read out a word list which contains all the landmark names found in

the maps they have just worked with. This reading of the word list produces ‘citation forms’ which can be compared against the spontaneous utterances produced in the unscripted dialogues (‘The Design of the HCRC Map Task Corpus’).

The 64 participants are all undergraduate students at the University of Glasgow (half of them male, half female). Of the 64 total, 61 are Scottish (mostly from within 30 miles of Glasgow). Two are English and one is American (Anderson et al. 1991: 361), so we can safely conclude that all the participants are native speakers of L1 English.

## 2.2 The HCRC Dialogue Coding System

Once the Map Task interactions were recorded and transcribed, a dialogue coding system was developed to organize and analyze the dynamics of dialogue within the corpus. Carletta et al. (1996) presents and explains this coding scheme in the HCRC Dialogue Coding Manual, which has been adopted for use in the current project.

The coding manual divides dialogue structure into three levels: *transactions*, *conversational games*, and *conversational moves* (Carletta et al. 1996: 1–3). In this scheme, transactions are the top level of dialogue structure, defined as “subdialogues that accomplish one major step in the participants’ plan for achieving the task” (Carletta et al. 1996: 1). This is designed to reflect the reality that instruction givers usually divide the task into smaller sections that are easier to handle. A typical transaction is focused on getting the instruction follower to draw one portion of the route, such as from one landmark to the next. Four transaction types are specified in the dialogue coding manual: ‘normal’, ‘review’, ‘overview’, and ‘irrelevant’ (Carletta et al. 1996: 12).

Within each transaction there are multiple *conversational games* or dialogue games. The coding manual defines a conversational game as “a set of utterances starting with an initiation and encompassing all utterances up until the purpose of the game has been either fulfilled (e.g., the requested information has been transferred) or abandoned” (Carletta et al. 1996: 3). This game analysis is based on the structure of the goals of the interaction; a conversational game begins when one participant utters an initiating move

(which will be defined shortly), and the game continues until this goal has been achieved or the game is abandoned (for whatever reason).

The core of the dialogue coding scheme is the third level, the level of *conversational moves*. Moves are the building blocks of games and transactions. Moves are divided into initiating moves and response moves, each categorized according to its dialogue purpose. Initiating moves create the expectation of a response move, and they begin a conversational game by setting a new discourse purpose for the interaction (Carletta et al. 1996: 3). Initiating move types include: the *instruct* move, the *explain* move, the *check* move, the *align* move, the *query-yn* move, and the *query-w* move. Response moves are categorized into *acknowledge*, *reply-y*, *reply-n*, *reply-w*, and *clarify* moves (Carletta et al. 1996: 3–10).

The *instruct* move is the most crucial move type for the purposes of this dissertation. It is defined as follows in the coding manual: “An INSTRUCT move commands the partner to carry out any action other than the one implicit in queries (i.e., ‘tell me the answer to this question’)” (Carletta et al. 1996: 3). The prototypical *instruct* move is one by which the instruction giver directs the instruction follower to take some action in regard to drawing a portion of the route on his or her map, though the follower can also produce *instruct* moves, such as asking the route giver to repeat something. An instruction does not have to be explicit imperative or request, as long as it is clear that it is intended to elicit a specific action from the partner. Examples of *instruct* moves cited in the dialogue coding manual include the following:

1. “Go right round, ehm, until you get to just above them.”
  2. “If you come in a wee bit so that you’re about an inch away from both edges.”
  3. “And I want you to go towards the left-hand side of the page.”
  4. “We’re going to start above th... directly above the telephone kiosk.”
- (Carletta et al. 1996: 3–5).

An *explain* move is distinguished from an *instruct* as a move which “states information which has not been elicited by the partner” (Carletta et al. 1996: 5). This can be information about the map or the task as long as it is not intended to elicit any specific action from the hearer. A *check* move “requests the partner to confirm information that the speaker has some reason to believe,

but is not entirely sure about” (Carletta et al. 1996: 5), while an *align* move is used to check “the attention or agreement of the partner” or to make sure the partner is ready to go on to the next move (Carletta et al. 1996: 6). *Query-yn* and *query-w* moves cover requests for information not captured by *align* or *check* moves.

Within response moves, *acknowledge* indicates that the participant has heard the corresponding move. *Reply-y* and *reply-n* are self-explanatory, but the *reply-w* and *clarify* moves bear a brief examination. In the coding manual a *reply-w* move is defined only as “any type of query which doesn’t simply mean ‘yes’ or ‘no’”, while a *clarify* move is described as “a reply to some kind of question in which the speaker tells the partner something over and above what was strictly asked” (Carletta et al. 1996: 9–10). It is important to notice that both *reply-w* and *clarify* moves are defined not only on the basis of their content, but more importantly, in relation to the move to which they respond. This creates the situation where a move that explicitly directs a partner to take a specific action (in what would be expected to be coded as an *instruct* move) will be coded as a *reply* or *clarify* if it is given in response to the right type of query from the partner. For instance, the following example of a *clarify* move is offered in the dialogue coding manual (F refers to the instruction follower, G to the instruction giver):

- F: “So I just go straight down?”  
 G: “Straight down, and curve to the right, til you’re in line with the pirate ship.”

(Carletta et al. 1996: 10)

This method of coding instructions, replies, and clarifications is important to note because it is relevant in its application to the current research project, which uses the HCRC dialogue coding scheme to isolate instructions for analysis.

### 2.3 The India Map Task

Recently the methods used to create the HCRC Map Task Corpus were adopted for a new study to investigate the speech of Indian English speakers working in the BPO industry (Pande 2010; Cowie & Pande 2011). This study mirrored much of the methodology of the HCRC Map Task, but focused on

the speech of Indian professionals working at a software company in Pune, India. A key difference between this India Map Task and the original HCRC study arises from the fact that while the HCRC Map Tasks were conducted with participants either face to face or at least in the same room, the Indian dialogues took place over the phone, which was designed to reflect more closely the context of Indian BPO professionals interacting with American customers. Another major distinction of this study was a focus on cross-cultural dialogue and the possibility of linguistic accommodation: while the HCRC study participants were almost all Scottish English speakers, the India Map Task compares the speech of Indian speakers interacting across national and cultural boundaries with both American English speakers and other Indian English speakers.

For the study, 16 Indian English speakers from a Pune software company were the primary subjects. Half of them were experienced with regular telephone conversations with American clients and colleagues, while the other half were not. Each participant was recorded performing a telephone map task with an American English speaker (mostly students at the University of Edinburgh), and with an Indian English speaker (whom the primary speaker did not already know). While the level of experience at speaking with Americans was one of the main independent variables under investigation, other factors that might contribute to differing levels of proficiency and accent accommodation were controlled for, such as education level, social status, and age group (Pande 2010: 13–15).

Two sets of maps were used for the India Map Task (see Appendix B). The landmarks were chosen in order to elicit phonological contrasts between American English and Indian English, so that any phonetic accent accommodation on the part of the Indian speakers would be evident. Following the lead of the HCRC Map Tasks, each pair of maps differ slightly in the presence or absence of specific landmarks and labels in order to spark more dialogue between the instruction giver and follower, and to encourage each participant to rely on their partner's speech rather than solely on the map in front of them (Pande 2010: 17). In addition, the spontaneous task dialogues were augmented with word lists read prior to the task for priming. Indian participants were asked to read a word list with the landmark names on their

upcoming map in order to record their own natural pronunciation of each item. Then, at the beginning of each call the American English participants read out the same list of landmarks familiarize the Indian participant with the accent of the instruction follower and prime them for the relevant phonological variables (Pande 2010: 25).

The results of Pande's (2010: 120–122) analysis indicate that accommodation did occur (defined as “adjustments in the direction of American phonological variants when talking to the Americans”) and appears to be correlated with the experience of the Indian speakers in dealing with Americans and with a positive attitude toward American culture, among other factors. However the accommodation uncovered was not widespread and only a minority of speakers (5 of 16) exhibited it at all. Individual variation was found to play a greater role than initially expected (Pande 2010: 120).

#### **2.4 Analyzing Modal Verb Usage in the India Map Task**

The data gathered by Cowie & Pande (2011) formed the basis for a small initial study into patterns of modal verb usage in Indian English in a goal-focused professional setting performed by me (Buckley 2011). For this initial study three of the sixteen Indian instruction givers were chosen at random. The audio from their map task dialogues was transcribed, two conversations from each Indian participant: one with an American instruction follower, and one with an Indian instruction follower. While ideally full transcriptions of the speech of both instruction giver and instruction follower would have been made, the recordings for each participant were stored separately and the Indian follower audio files were not accessible in the timeframe needed. This was judged acceptable because the focus of the study is on the Indian instruction giver as the “primary speaker” (Pande 2010: 13).

While the data gathered by the India Map Task included citation-form word lists and sociological follow-up interviews in addition to the tasks themselves, for this project only the map tasks were analyzed. The transcripts produced from the initial three Indian English speakers (six dialogues all together) totalled over 5200 words (counting only the speech of the instruction giver). Of this, about 2200 words are from dialogue with the American



instruction follower and about 3000 words are from dialogue with the Indian instruction follower (see Appendices T1–T6 for these transcripts).

The initial analysis method used on this data was rather blunt. Following the method of large corpora analysis adopted by Collins (2009; see also Friginal 2009: 70), modal verbs in the Indian instruction givers' speech were simply counted up and normalized to frequency per 1000 words. The modal verbs counted were simply the standard ones commonly recognized in grammars: *can*, *could*, *will*, *would*, *may*, *might*, *must*, *shall*, and *should* (e.g., Kearns 2000: 52; Biber et al. 1999: 483–484). In addition, the counts for each modal verb included the contracted or 'enclitic' form of the modal (e.g., *I'll* counts as an instance of *will*), following the pattern of Wilson (2005).

The results of this initial analysis uncovered a striking usage pattern in which, on average the Indian English speakers exhibited a much higher frequency of modal verb usage when interacting with their Indian dialogue partners than in conversation with American partners. In addition, a majority of the occurrences of the modal verb *would* (5 of 7) appeared to be a non-standard usage which has been suggested as a possible hallmark of Indian English (Shastri 1988: 17–18) and New Englishes in general (Bautista 2004: 113–122).

The first attempt to interpret these results focused on framing the differences in usage as a type of linguistic accommodation, as Cowie & Pande (2011) have done with phonological data from the same recordings. According to speech accommodation theory (Beebe & Giles 1984: 8), speakers in social contexts seek to 'accommodate' their speech patterns based on they expect their conversation partners to react. This label encompasses both convergence, in which a speaker tries to sound more like the partner, or divergence, in which the speaker seeks to differentiate and emphasize distance. Accommodation is said to take place for the purpose of achieving social goals such as approval by the partner, efficiency of communication, or for identity management (Beebe & Giles 1984: 8).

I suggested previously (Buckley 2011) that the Indian English speakers might be using fewer modal verbs when speaking with Americans because they were attempting to accommodate their speech patterns to mirror (or converge toward) the style of the American speakers. However, it is quite

doubtful that this explanation is the case, for a number of reasons. First, modal verbs appear infrequently and are a subtle enough grammatical feature that it is unlikely the Indian speakers would detect any supposed difference in the Americans speakers' modal verb usage patterns in the brief telephone interactions they had, especially considering the Americans (for the most part) took a passive role as followers and did not produce speech that contained many modal verbs. Second, even the phonetic accommodation discovered by Cowie & Pande (2011) appeared only in the speech of a minority of the Indian speakers (5 of 16) and was not widespread. Not only were the salient phonetic features chosen noticeable enough to be quickly detectable in conversation, but the Indian speakers were primed for them before the map task by hearing the American partner read out a word list which elicited the distinctive features. If even under these conditions the evidence for accommodation was limited, it is very unlikely that the Indian speakers were making any conscious attempt to converge with their American partners in their use of modal verbs.

The question remains, however, why the Indian speakers might use a lower frequency of modal verbs in their speech with Americans. A better interpretive framework for understanding these modal verb usage patterns may be the pragmatic framework of politeness and stance. 'Stance' is defined as "the linguistic mechanisms used by speakers . . . to convey their personal feelings and assessments (Friginal 2009: 145). The devices used to convey stance vary across different registers of speech and writing, including grammatical devices, lexical choices, and prosodic strategies. Within the category of grammatical expressions of stance, modals and semi-modals (along with complement constructions) are "the most common grammatical categories of stance marker" (Biber et al. 1999: 979). Modal verbs are more frequent in Friginal's (2009: 151) call center data than in other registers, and it seems likely that the reason is that modals, along with quasi-modals and other grammatical stance markers, are used at a higher frequency in these contexts for politeness reasons, softening requests and instructions and avoiding the face-threatening nature inherent in these speech acts.

Stance, politeness, and register provide a better framework for explaining increased frequencies of modal verbs, but they do not yet explain why Indian speakers would assume a different stance or politeness level when

interacting with Americans than they would with Indian partners, given that neither partner is familiar to them and the context (the map task) is the same. The intriguing question arises whether there might be different cultural standards of politeness or different expectations about the behavior and attitude of the Americans coming into play here. The next stage of the project seeks to move closer to answering these questions by expanding and refining the modal verb study.

## **2.5 Expanding the initial study of modal verbs**

The current project expands the previous modal verb study to include a wider range of data and also to examine in much greater detail the types of speech acts the Indian speakers use to give instructions.

In addition to the original six transcripts from three Indian speakers, two more Indian participants were chosen at random, and their dialogues with an American and an Indian partner were transcribed. This brings the total number of Indian English transcripts to 10, representing 5 Indian instruction givers each taking part in two telephone dialogues. As a control group, transcripts were also obtained for 5 Scottish map task dialogues from the HCRC corpus. Transcripts were narrowed down to those of similar length to the Indian conversations, then randomly selected within that requirement. Furthermore, in order to obtain a control sample as similar as possible to the India telephone map task data, the HCRC dialogues in which the participants were able to make eye contact were excluded. While the HCRC interactions took place in the same room rather than over the phone, the no eye contact samples more closely mirror the context of a telephone call in which all communication must be verbal (or at least must be audible).

The resulting transcripts produce a corpus of about 10,800 words, of which about 7500 words are by Indian speakers and about 3300 words are by Scottish speakers. Of the Indian portion of the corpus, about 3300 words are from the interactions with an American partner (In-Am dialogues) and about 4200 words are from interactions with an Indian partner (In-In dialogues). All of the Scottish dialogues are with other Scottish participants (Sc-Sc). This setup makes it possible to not only compare In-In and In-Am dialogues, but also to compare both to a native English speaking control group. Thus we can

compare and contrast the behavior of L1–L1, L2–L1, and L2–L2 English groups.

Another change from the initial modal verb study is that instead of simply counting the raw number of modals in the transcripts and calculating frequency, a more nuanced approach was taken. In order to really understand what is going on with the modal verbs, it is necessary to know how they are being used in the discourse. The primary discourse goal of the map task experiment setup is instructing, and instruction-giving is a type of speech act that intrinsically carries a high risk of being a face-threatening act (or ‘FTA’; see Brown & Levinson 1987: 65–66). Modal verbs offer a way of mitigating the face threat inherent in giving orders or instructions, so it was decided to isolate the instructions in the dialogues in order to ensure that the modal verb patterns being analyzed are used to instruct in the map tasks.

In addition to the set of modal verbs analyzed previously, the new project also investigated quasi-modal constructions. Also known as ‘semi-modals’ or ‘periphrastic modals’, quasi-modals function similarly to modal verbs. The following quasi-modals, listed in Biber et al. (1999: 484), were gathered from these transcripts: *need to*, *have to*, *going to* / *gonna*, *got to* / *gotta*, *supposed to*, and *want to*. A recent corpus study of nine different world Englishes (Collins 2009) discovered that there is an overarching trend toward a decreasing occurrence of standard modal verbs and a corresponding increase in the appearance of quasi-modal verbs, a trend apparently being led by American English (Collins 2009: 291). For this reason quasi-modals are clearly worth investigating along with modal verbs.

Instructions were isolated by coding all the conversational moves in the Indian transcripts according to the scheme laid out in the HCRC Dialogue Coding Manual. As discussed above, this move coding method classifies some moves that function as instructions as *clarify* or *reply* moves, according to whether the move comes as a response to a query. The decision had to be made whether to break with the coding manual or leave out some possibly valuable data. In the end it was decided that consistency and the ability to adopt the already finished move coding for the Scottish transcripts was most important, and the move definitions outlined in the HCRC coding manual were followed as closely as possible for all transcripts.

Move coding for the Scottish transcripts (Appendices T11–15) was obtained using the NITE XML Toolkit software and XML Map Task data files available from the HCRC Map Task website ('The HCRC Map Task Corpus'). The dialogue coding was performed for HCRC by volunteers, leaving open the possibility of some inconsistency in the coding, but Carletta (1997: 16–17) concluded that the coding is reasonably reliable. Analysis regarding the overall number of instruct moves across all transcripts will be discussed in Chapter 3.

## 2.6 Analyzing Stance and Politeness Strategies in the India Map Task

Once all of the instruction moves were isolated in the corpus, the next step was to analyze and categorize them to look for patterns. It became clear at the beginning that a single instruct move can contain multiple *instruction speech acts* (for ease of reference these will sometimes be referred to as ISAs in tables where space is limited—these are not to be confused with indirect speech acts). For example, the following is an instruct move from one of the Scottish dialogues (G is instruction giver, F is instruction follower):

G: "just turn left. Don't go over it. Just . . . just turn left."  
(Appendix T15)

This move is coded as containing three instruction speech acts: "just turn left", "Don't go over it", and "just turn left": one bare imperative and two imperative with hedge. Therefore the number of instruction speech acts in a dialogue will be higher than the number of instruct moves. Conversely, there are few (quite rare) cases where what is coded as an instruct move is judged not to contain an instruction speech act at all. For example, the following exchange is from another of the Scottish transcripts:

G: "And when you get to that curve of crane bay stick closely to it."  
F: "Okay."  
G: "For . . . until you get to that corner."  
(Appendix T12)

The first and second utterances by the instruction giver are coded as two separate instruct moves. The first contains a bare imperative, while the second

contains no instruction speech act at all; instead it simply adds a specification to the previous instruction.

Instruction speech acts have been counted up for each transcript and categorized according to grammatical type. In addition, many instruction types are subdivided according to whether they contain a hedge or not. Taking hedges into account, 25 instruction type categories were found in the dialogues. This list makes no claim to being a comprehensive account of all possible kinds of instruction speech act. It is simply a breakdown of what occurs in this selection of map tasks. It is likely that if additional dialogues were studied, more types of instruction speech acts would be uncovered. The full list of instruction type categories discovered, along with examples of each type, is found in Table 2.1 at the end of this chapter.

With the instructions counted and categorized, we turn to analysis of the differences in stance and politeness between the dialogues. For the purposes of most of the analyses, the map tasks can be divided into three main groups: 5 Indian-Indian dialogues, 5 Indian-American dialogues, and 5 Scottish-Scottish dialogues. These three groups are compared and contrasted in regards to four main levels of politeness. At the highest macro level, the overall number and frequency of instructions required to complete the task are compared across the groups. This allows us to investigate whether there are any differences in regards to task efficiency, cooperation, and misunderstandings that occur. Data and results from that analysis are presented in Chapter 3.

At the next level of analysis, we investigate patterns in each instruction giver's choice of dialogue strategy for each map task. In each conversation, the instruction giver makes a choice (whether conscious or unconscious) about what stance to take in the instructing task. I call that chosen stance a dialogue strategy. Dialogue strategies represent a politeness setting that speakers can control and that is higher than the level of the speech act. In Chapter 4, we compare dialogue strategies across the three participant groups.

Chapter 5 delves a little deeper into a more micro level of differences in politeness by comparing the frequency of occurrence of individual instruction speech acts such as imperatives, modals, indicatives, and so on. Choice of instruction speech acts reflect a level of politeness that speakers can

control at speech act level. In Chapter 6 we investigate the lowest level of difference in politeness by comparing and categorizing each speaker's use of different modal and quasi-modal verbs. This section is the most similar to the research done in my previous study on modal verbs, and it expands the findings there, as well as including quasi-modal verbs in a similar analysis.

The raw results of the data gathering are now presented.

**Table 2.1: Instruction Speech Act Types**

Instruct type	Examples
bare imperative	("go upwards", "take a left")
no hedge	
hedge	("just curve up", "just sort of go")
1p singular indicative	("I go towards the right")
no hedge	
hedge	("If I go a little up")
1p singular + modal	("I can go above", "I'll start")
1p singular + quasi-modal	("I'll have to...")
1p plural inclusive 'we' indicative	("we go down...")
1p plural inclusive 'we' + modal	("we will be rounding up")
1p plural inclusive 'we' + quasi-modal	("we're gonna")
1p modal request	("I want you to", "I'd like you to")
2p request with modal	("can you...?", "you can accordingly, alright?", "could you go")
no hedge	
hedge	("maybe you can...?")
2p indicative	("you come/go", "you're going up", "you have done")
no hedge	
hedge	("you just draw the half-moon", "you're just heading")
2p + modal	("you can...", "you'd draw a half-moon", "you will come down")
no hedge	
hedge	("you can just...go up", "you should just go")
2p + quasi-modal	("you have to/need to/want to", "you're going to", "you've got to")
no hedge	
hedge	("you have to just", "you just want to")
3p present indicative	("your road goes to the right")
3p + modal	("your route will take a left")
3p indicative + quasi-modal	("it's going to...")
3p indicative past tense	("your route has gone down")
no main verb	("left", down", "towards right", "just a big curve")
indirect	("if you leave it", "if you want to head down")
indirect + modal	("if you could start")

**Table 2.2: Raw Instruction Data T1–T4**

Instructions		Examples
<b>T1: Anurag (Ind) - Elina (US)</b>		
578	Instruction giver words	
13	Total instruct moves	
14	Total instruct speech acts	
9	2p indicative	("you come/go")
3	bare imperative (1 hedge)	
1	1p plural inclusive 'we' indicative	
1	2p request with modal	("can you...?")
<b>T2: Anurag (Ind) - Sumit (Ind)</b>		
635	Instruction giver words	
26	Total instruct moves	
31	Total instruct speech acts	
17	2p indicative	("you move")
5	bare imperative	("come down")
5	2p modal	("you can...")
3	no hedge	
2	hedge	("you can just...go up")
2	1p plural inclusive 'we' + quasi	("we're gonna")
2	2p request with modal	
0	no hedge	
2	hedge	("maybe you can...?")
<b>T3: Raj (Ind) - Elina (US)</b>		
954	Instruction giver words	
24	Total instruct moves	
29	Total instruct speech acts	
9	2p + quasi-modal	("you have to")
6	no hedge	
3	hedge	("you have to just")
4	3p + modal	("it will take a left")
3	3p present indicative	
3	bare imperative (1 hedge)	("take your road")
3	2p indicative	
2	3p indicative past tense	
2	1p plural inclusive 'we' + quasi-modal	("we have to", "we need (not) to go")
1	1p plural inclusive 'we' + modal	
1	2p + modal	
1	2p request with modal	
0	no hedge	
1	hedge	("can you just...?")
<b>T4: Raj (Ind) - Swapna (Ind)</b>		
1980	Instruction giver words	
62	Total instruct moves	
88	Total instruct speech acts	
33	3p + modal	("your way will"; "it should be")
24	2p + modal	("you'd", "you will")
10	2p + quasi-modal	("you have to")
7	bare imperative (1 hedge)	("try to draw")
6	2p indicative	("you go")
2	no hedge	
4	hedge	
4	3p present indicative	("your route goes")
2	2p request with modal	("can you?")
1	3p indicative + quasi-modal	("it's going to")
1	1p plural inclusive 'we' indicative	("we make a finish")

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T1–T4)



**Table 2.3: Raw Instruction Data T5–T10**

<b>Instructions</b>		<b>Examples</b>
<b>T5: Som (Ind) - Nathaniel (US)</b>		
686	Instruction giver words	
21	Total instruct moves	
34	Total instruct speech acts	
30	1p singular indicative	("I go towards the right")
29	no hedge	
1	hedge	("If I go a little up")
2	1p singular + quasi-modal	("I'll have to...")
1	1p singular + modal	("I can go above")
1	3p present indicative	("My path goes down")
<b>T6: Som (Ind) - Tejas (Ind)</b>		
435	Instruction giver words	
15	Total instruct moves	
24	Total instruct speech acts	
17	1p singular + modal	("I'll start from...", "I'll go down")
3	1p singular indicative	("I'm going in the direction of...")
3	3p present indicative	("it goes left")
1	2p request with modal	("you can accordingly, alright?")
<b>T7: Tushar (Ind) - Christine (US)</b>		
489	Instruction giver words	
5	Total instruct moves	
6	Total instruct speech acts	
4	1p plural inclusive 'we' indicative	("we move south")
1	1p plural inclusive 'we' + modal	("we will start")
1	bare imperative	("continue.")
<b>T8: Tushar (Ind) - Nikhil (Ind)</b>		
537	Instruction giver words	
14	Total instruct moves	
19	Total instruct speech acts	
10	1p plural inclusive 'we' indicative	("we go to the south")
5	2p indicative	("you go north")
4	2p + modal	("you can draw...9 dotted lines")
<b>T9: Sneha (Ind) - Judith (US)</b>		
579	Instruction giver words	
18	Total instruct moves	
28	Total instruct speech acts	
13	2p + quasi-modal	("you need to")
11	bare imperative	("keep coming down")
4	2p indicative	("you come down")
<b>T10: Sneha (Ind) - Bipin (Ind)</b>		
616	Instruction giver words	
29	Total instruct moves	
36	Total instruct speech acts	
30	bare imperative	("take a right")
3	2p + quasi-modal	("you need to")
2	no main verb	("left.", "down.")
1	2p + modal	("you'll finish")

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T5–T10)

**Table 2.4: Raw Instruction Data T11–T13**

<b>Instructions</b>		<b>Examples</b>
<b>T11: Helen-Lorraine (Scottish)</b>		
748	Instruction giver words	
28	Total instruct moves	
49	Total instruct speech acts	
23	2p indicative	("you start/go/are/have done")
19	2p + quasi-modal	("you're gonna")
4	bare imperative	("move to the right")
2	3p present indicative	("the start/line is")
1	indirect	("if you leave it")
<b>T12: Lindsay-Jonathon (Scottish)</b>		
593	Instruction giver words	
20	Total instruct moves	
20	Total instruct speech acts	
11	bare imperative	("go to your right")
4	1p modal request	("I want you to", "I'd like you to")
3	2p + quasi-modal	("you're going to", "you've got to")
1	2p indicative	("you come down")
1	indirect	("if you want to head down")
<b>T13: Sarah-Danielle (Scottish)</b>		
489	Instruction giver words	
22	Total instruct moves	
28	Total instruct speech acts	
11	bare imperative	("go round in a curve")
7	no hedge	
4	hedge	("just curve up")
7	2p + quasi-modal	("you need to/want to")
6	no hedge	
1	hedge	("you just want to")
5	2p indicative	("you're going up")
4	no hedge	
1	hedge	("you're just heading")
2	3p present indicative	("your line is")
2	no main verb	("down the right", "just a big curve")
1	1p modal request	("I want you to")

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T11–T13)

The complete list of instruction speech act types gathered in all 15 transcripts is presented in Table 2.1. When the addition of hedges is taken into account, there are 25 different kinds of instruction speech act present.

Tables 2.2–2.5 contain the raw instruction counts and types gathered from each transcript, as well as total words spoken by the instruction giver, total instruct moves, and total instruct speech acts. Examples of the instruction type found in the transcript are provided for many of the entries. The chapters that follow will examine this data further.

**Table 2.5: Raw Instruction Data T14–T15**

<b>Instructions</b>		<b>Examples</b>
<b>T14: Audrey-Kara (Scottish)</b>		
902	Instruction giver words	
27	Total instruct moves	
35	Total instruct speech acts	
12	bare imperative	("Don't go towards...")
5	no hedge	
7	hedge	("just sort of go")
8	2p request with modal	("can/could you go")
5	indirect	("if you turn right")
3	2p indicative	("you go up")
2	indirect + modal	("if you could start")
2	1p modal request	("I'd like you to", "I want you to")
2	no main verb	("back down", "towards the quarry.")
1	2p + modal	
0	no hedge	
1	hedge	("you should just go")
<b>T15: Haquila-Ewan (Scottish)</b>		
586	Instruction giver words	
35	Total instruct moves	
42	Total instruct speech acts	
30	bare imperative	("go two centimetres left")
21	no hedge	
9	hedge	("just go down")
8	2p + quasi-modal	("you're supposed to", "you have to")
3	no main verb	("right round it", "to the pillars")
1	2p indicative	("you go right")

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T13–T15)

### 3. Comparing Overall Instruction Frequency

The detailed results of the instruction coding have been presented in the previous chapter. We now turn to the first (highest) level of instruction politeness analysis by examining and comparing the overall number and frequency of instruction moves that each instruction giver requires to complete the task. This investigation allows us to compare the efficiency of each interaction (though measuring the *accuracy* of each map task interaction is beyond the scope of the current project; see Lindemann 2002 for an example of a map task study that takes accuracy comparisons into account). It is important to remember that *instruction conversational moves* are to be distinguished from *instruction speech acts* in this scheme. All numbers in the tables to follow are derived from the main data presented in Tables 2.2–2.5 in the previous chapter.

**Table 3.1: Overall Instruction Moves Frequency: In–In**

Transcript	# of instructions	# of words	Instructions per 100 words
T2	26	635	4.09
T4	62	1980	3.13
T6	15	435	3.45
T8	14	537	2.61
T10	29	616	4.71
Total:	146	4203	
<b>Average:</b>	<b>29.2</b>	<b>840.6</b>	<b>3.47</b>

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T2–T10)

**Table 3.2: Overall Instruction Moves Frequency: In–Am**

Transcript	# of instructions	# of words	Instructions per 100 words
T1	13	578	2.25
T3	24	954	2.52
T5	21	686	3.06
T7	5	489	1.02
T9	18	579	3.11
Total:	81	3286	
<b>Average:</b>	<b>16.2</b>	<b>657.2</b>	<b>2.47</b>

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T1–T9)

**Table 3.3: Overall Instruction Moves Frequency: Sc–Sc**

Transcript	# of instructions	# of words	Instructions per 100 words
T11	28	748	3.74
T12	20	593	3.37
T13	22	489	4.50
T14	27	902	2.99
T15	35	586	5.97
Total:	132	3318	
<b>Average:</b>	<b>26.4</b>	<b>663.6</b>	<b>3.98</b>

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T11–T15)

Tables 3.1–3.3 show the overall number of instruction moves and instruction move frequency (calculated as instruct moves per hundred words) for each map task dialogue, grouped into Indian–Indian, Indian–American, and Scottish–Scottish groups.

The average number of words used in the In–In group is higher than the others, but this fact is not significant. After the initial set of transcripts were chosen randomly (T1–T6), the additional transcripts were picked to be of comparable length, so for this reason comparing the number of words is not relevant. Within the Indian dialogues there are two outliers which are much longer than the others, both of which are the work of one instruction giver, Raj (T3 and T4). If both of those outliers are removed and the remaining four dialogues in each group are averaged, the average word count in the In–In dialogues is 555.75, and the In–Am average is 583.0. This line of enquiry appears to be unfruitful, and without transcribing a comprehensive corpus of all the map task dialogues, it would be unwise to make any claims about the number of words required to complete the tasks. In addition, there is a high level of variation between individuals, so it seems impossible to pick out a dialect pattern in regards to the number of instructions and/or time taken to complete the map task with the data available here. Even comparing the raw number of instructions given per task is of doubtful value, because this number might be much higher or lower if a longer or shorter transcript were chosen.

However, it is much more interesting to compare the each Indian instruction giver's behavior when interacting with an Indian follower and an

American follower. On average, each In–Am interaction required a dramatically lower number of instructions to complete than the same Indian speaker’s corresponding task with an Indian instruction follower. This is reflected in the comparison of the average number of instructions per task (In–In: 29.2, In–Am: 16.2), and in what could be referred to as “instruction density”, or instructions per 100 words (In–In: 3.47, In–Am: 2.47). More strikingly, 4 out of 5 of the Indian instruction givers accomplish the task with fewer instruct moves overall, fewer words overall, and lower instruction density when guiding an American follower than they do with an Indian follower. The only exception to this pattern is Transcript 5 (In–Am, Som–Nathaniel), and this can be explained because the American follower (Nathaniel) tells the instruction giver (Som) to recap the route for him after he reaches the end, which comes after only 9 instruct moves and 388 words. Such an extended rehashing of the route is unique (though some of the instruction givers do finish with a short review on their own initiative). If this anomaly is controlled for, then Transcript 5 fits the pattern as well in finishing the task with fewer instruct moves and fewer words. Even without this control Transcript 5 still has the Indian instruction giver using a lower number of instructions per 100 words with an American than he does with an Indian partner.

One observation that can be drawn from these results is that individual variation plays a significant role, making it difficult to draw out any major overarching dialect differences between Indian English and L1 English. Much of the variation can be attributed simply to the individual style of the different participants. For example, we can contrast the instructing styles of Som, Sneha, and Haquila. Som frames all his instructions as a first-person description of his route:

Som: “So I go from there, and I take— I go to advanced lesson, go on top of it and then take a small turn towards right, and make a curve, and go up.” (Appendix T5, p. 3)

In contrast, Sneha moves very quickly to give as many instructions as possible one after the other:

Sneha: “We started from start here, keep coming down, umm, and approximately in the horizontal line of pool of water, till there you keep coming down, then take a right, again go up, and you need to pass um like you know in between uh the chance mountain on the top and pool of water on the down side of it.” (Appendix T9, p. 1)

A third very different style can be seen in the speech of Haquila (one of the Scottish participants), who favors a brusque, direct instruction style:

Haquila: “Go two centimetres to the left.”

Ewan: “Right.”

Haquila: “Okay. Go down.”

(Appendix T15, p. 1)

These examples should make it obvious how much individual style and individual variation will limit us from making too many grand hypotheses.

To summarize what can be seen from the data, there is no clear difference between Indian English (represented in the In–In transcripts) and Scottish English in regard to the number of instructions used. There is possibly a slightly lower instruction density in the In–In data, but it is unlikely to be significant. On the other hand, there is a clear difference apparent in the Indian instruction givers’ approach to the American and Indian followers. The Indian participants always give fewer instructions, say fewer words, and show a lower instruction density when directing the Americans. How can this be explained?

One possible solution might be to look for evidence of cooperation (or lack of) or miscommunication that might extend the interactions and increase the number of instructions required to communicate the necessary information. Lindemann (2002) carried out a study on cross-cultural interactions using a Map Task, and found that when native English speakers had prior negative attitudes about non-native speakers it led to poor comprehension and a (perceived) lack of success of the interactions. Her study arranged native Korean speakers with native English speakers, some of whom had been previously assessed as having negative attitudes toward Koreans. Those who had negative attitudes tended to exhibit one of two behaviors that reduced understanding and the success of the task (measured by accuracy of the instruction follower’s route to that on the instruction giver’s map). One behavior was “avoidance strategies”, in which the participant fails to give

appropriate feedback when misunderstanding what the partner has just said. Instead of asking for clarification, the participant simply goes on ahead and the partner does not know he or she has been misunderstood. While avoidance is possibly explained as having a basis in politeness, i.e., an attempt not to appear to be correcting or questioning the partner, such a failure to give valuable feedback or ask for clarification significantly reduced the ultimate success of the task. A second behavior stemming from negative prior attitudes was an opposite one: “problematizing the utterance” strategies (Lindemann 2002: 426). This refers to a participant ignoring or rejecting their partner’s contribution even when it was understood. Problematizing the utterance did not reduce the actual objective success of the task, but it did affect the *perceived* success, which Lindemann (2002: 419) argues may have the same results for the participants as if the task results were actually affected. Both strategies, though differing in their effect on the success of the task, treat the partner as an “incompetent communicator”, Lindemann (2002: 434) argues.

The question arises, is there evidence of such problematic strategies like avoidance or problematizing in these dialogues? It is difficult to answer this question without being able to analyze the finished route drawings, which is beyond the scope of this project. However, there may be some possible evidence of avoidance in Transcript 5 (Som–Nathaniel). Som is the participant who assumes the dialogue strategy of rarely directly commanding his partner, but instead framing his instructions as first person descriptions of his own route (more discussion of Som’s dialogue strategy appears in Chapter 4). Som’s American follower, Nathaniel, is very proactive. Nathaniel takes the initiative at the beginning of the conversation and suggests that before beginning with the actual route the partners describe their maps to one another to clarify all the landmarks (T5, p. 1). Som indicates acceptance of this plan, but as he describes his map he follows the path of his route on the map (beginning from the end point). After a while Nathaniel realizes Som is describing his route rather than just the landmarks, and again reiterates that they should figure out the landmarks before beginning on the route proper. Som again appears to acquiesce, but simply continues describing his route as he did before, finishing up his route at the start point saying, “Ok. Alright. So



there that's the path." (T5, p. 2). At this point Nathaniel asks him to recap the route from start to finish.

It may be that this is a case of Som using avoidance by simply accepting what his partner said, but choosing to ignore it and giving the directions the way he preferred instead. It's also possible that Som simply didn't understand what Nathaniel was asking, in which case it is still avoidance by Lindemann's (2002) definition because Som did not ask for clarification. A third possibility is that he *misunderstood* Nathaniel's suggestion and believed he was following the plan they had agreed on. If it is case of avoidance, it partially explains the increased number of instructions and words used in comparison to Som's corresponding task with an Indian follower. It is likely the objective success of the task was not affected, however, because the partner was proactive and requested a recap of the route.

Lindemann (2002: 420), drawing from Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs (1986), refers to the "principle of mutual responsibility", in which both speaker and listener are held responsible for working together to establish "the mutual belief that the listeners have understood what the speaker meant in the last utterance". She points to avoidance as a negative strategy that violates this principle by glossing over problems and misunderstandings. By this definition, many of the longer, more complicated of the interactions (such as T4, T5, T8, and T10) may actually be evidence of followers accepting their share of the communicative burden by asking questions, clarifying problems, double-checking information, raising problematic issues, and generally facing misunderstandings head-on rather than ignoring and avoiding them. Only an analysis like Lindemann's (2002), in which actual objective success of the task is measured, could answer this question fully.

## 4. Comparing Dialogue Strategies

This chapter will analyze patterns among the instruction givers' choice of dialogue strategy for each map task interaction. In each conversation the instruction giver has a choice of what stance or perspective to take on the instructing task. I am referring to that chosen stance as a dialogue strategy. With the choice of dialogue strategy a speaker is able to control the level of politeness in each interaction.

The idea of a dialogue strategy was developed to account for the wide variety of approaches discovered among the different Indian instruction givers. For example, as has already been mentioned, Som (T5–6) gives all his instructions from the first-person perspective, simply describing himself going along the route and leaving his partner to follow along. For example, here is an excerpt from Som's dialogues:

Som: "So I'm going in the direction which is between burning wood and prancing pony. So I'll take the direction from between them, and go to the extreme left, as in, uh, this left is going to, uh, touch the perimeter of the page." (T6, p. 2)

Som's style can be termed as "describing own map/route". Tushar (T7–8), on the other hand, prefers to give most of his directions in an inclusive first-person plural form, including himself in the instructions as well as his follower:

Tushar: "Um, then we move south from the place where the men are working." (T7, p. 2)

This dialogue strategy will be termed "inclusive 'we'". Raj (T3–4) switches back and forth between a more standard "directing partner" strategy and a less direct "describing route" strategy, which can be seen here:

Raj: "So it's going to pass in between them, and all the way it will take a round turn of prancing pony and directly reaching to the finish point." (T4, p. 5)

Each instruction giver has a preferred primary strategy and uses it in both map tasks. Table 4.1 and 4.2 show the primary dialogue strategies of all the instruction givers.

**Table 4.1: Dialogue Strategies of Indian Instruction Givers**

Instruction Giver		Primary Strategy	Primary Instruct type(s)	Example
Anurag	T1–2	directing partner	2p indicative	("you move ahead")
Raj	T3–4	mixed: directing partner + describing route	3p + modal	("it will take a left")
			2p + modal	("you'd draw a half-moon")
			2p + quasi-modal	("you have to")
Som	T5–6	describing own map/route	1p singular + modal	("I'll go towards my right")
			1p singular indicative	("I go towards the right")
Tushar	T7–8	inclusive 'we'	1p plural inclusive 'we' indicative	("we go to the south")
Sneha	T9–10	directing partner	bare imperative	("take a right")
			2p + quasi-modal	("you need to")

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T1–T10)

**Table 4.2: Dialogue Strategies of Scottish Instruction Givers**

Instruction Giver		Primary Strategy	Primary Instruct type(s)	Example
Helen	T11	directing partner	2p indicative	("you curve to the right")
			2p + quasi-modal	("you're gonna go along the top of the ravine")
Lindsay	T12	directing partner	bare imperative	("go to your right")
Sarah	T13	directing partner	bare imperative	("go round in a curve")
			2p + quasi-modal	("you just want to curve up")
Audrey	T14	directing partner	bare imperative	("keep going up the way")
			2p request with modal	("could you go down...?")
Haquila	T15	directing partner	bare imperative	("go two centimetres left")

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T11–T15)

From Table 4.1 and 4.2 it is clear that while the Scottish participants are relatively consistent in assuming what might be seen as a standard “directing partner” instruction strategy, the Indian participants are much more varied.

Blum-Kulka (1989: 58) uses the term ‘perspective’ to describe in relation to requests a similar dynamic to that being referred to here as a dialogue strategy. She writes,

Choice of perspective presents an important source of variation in requests. Speakers may choose, in phrasing their request, to emphasize the role of the agent (can *you* lend me. .), their own role as recipients (could *I* borrow. .), or they may avoid the issue by using an inclusive “we” (“can we start cleaning now?”) or the impersonal (“it needs to be cleaned”). (Blum-Kulka 1989: 58)

Blum-Kulka (1989: 58) categorizes request perspectives into four categories: (1) *speaker oriented*, (2) *hearer oriented*, (3) *inclusive* “self” oriented, and (4) *impersonal*. We can categorize the dialogue strategies used by the instruction givers in this experiment using the same distinctions.

**Table 4.3: Favored Instruction Strategies**

Hearer oriented	Impersonal	Speaker oriented	Inclusive
bare imperative 1p modal request 2p request 2p indicative 2p + modal 2p + quasi-modal indirect	3p types no main vb	1p sg types	1p pl types
<b>Raj</b>		<b>Som</b>	<b>Tushar</b>
<b>Anurag</b>			
<b>Sneha</b>			
<b>All Scottish</b>			

Categories from Blum-Kulka 1989: 58

Table 4.3 categorizes the instruction speech acts types into the four main instruction strategies modelled on Blum-Kulka’s (1989) request perspectives, and shows which strategy is favored by each instruction giver. Anurag, Sneha, and all the Scottish participants favor a hearer oriented approach. The majority of conventional requests are hearer oriented, according to a survey of requests across English, French, Spanish, and Hebrew (Blum-Kulka 1989: 59), so this would be the expected form for instructions as well. Raj mixes a hearer oriented strategy with an impersonal route oriented approach. Som prefers a speaker oriented strategy, while Tushar opts for an inclusive stance. “Speaker oriented” in Som’s case is a bit different from a speaker oriented request as termed by Blum-Kulka, in which focusing on the speaker serves to emphasize the recipient who will benefit from the action. Som’s use of a speaker oriented

strategy is much more indirect in not even explicitly referencing the follower in the action he intends them to take.

Blum-Kulka (1989: 59) points out that the use of a certain perspective is tied to politeness: “Choice of perspective affects social meaning; since requests are inherently imposing, . . . avoidance to name the hearer as actor can reduce the form’s level of coerciveness.” Hearer oriented instructions are the most direct and the most face-threatening, while the other three strategies are more indirect in advancing further away from any appearance of coercing the hearer.

Table 4.3 shows the high rate of individual variation in the Indian data, suggesting that individual strategy choices may play a greater role than any dialect-wide differences. However, it is very telling that at least in this sample (chosen at random), all of the Scottish participants are much more consistent in choosing a more direct, hearer oriented strategy than the Indian instruction givers, who vary much more widely across the sample of individuals. This is tentative evidence that there may indeed be differences in cultural standards of politeness between the two groups. From this data it would appear that Indian speakers may be less likely to choose direct hearer oriented instruction strategies when performing potentially face threatening speech acts such as requests and instructions, opting instead for more indirect, less coercive strategies.

Cultural standards would be a tempting explanation for this pattern, but another possibility is that gender might play a role. Gender was not taken into account in the selection of the dialogues, and the result of the random selection was that of the 5 Indian instruction givers, 4 are male, and 1 is female, while all 5 of the Scottish instruction givers are female. When dialogues strategies are compared by gender, 6 of 6 female instruction givers favor a direct hearer oriented strategy, in comparison to only 1 of 4 male instruction givers. However, since the sample is small and gender distribution was not in view when the dialogues were chosen, a separate study would be needed to determine any link between gender and directness in instructions.

As it stands, we can tentatively conclude that Indian instruction givers tend to favor more indirect strategies than do Scottish instruction givers, while also exhibiting a wide range of individual variation as to choice of strategy.

Participants do not choose strategies at random but have a favored style which they tend to use in the same type of interaction.

## 5. Comparing Instruction Speech Acts

This section will compare the various instruction speech act types, such as imperatives, modals, indicatives, and so on that occur in the map task dialogues. This level of the speech act provides more detail than the previous chapter's examination of instruction strategies, though instruction speech acts form the basis for that analysis. By analyzing the frequency of different speech acts we can gain insight into the details of each participant's politeness strategy and investigate whether there are any dialect patterns evident.

**Table 5.1: Instruction Speech Acts By Participant Group**

In-In (T2-10)		In-Am (T1-9)		Sc-Sc (T11-15)		Instruct type
#	%	#	%	#	%	
198	total	111	total	174	total	total instruct speech acts
42	21%	18	16%	68	39%	bare imperative
41	21%	16	14%	48	28%	no hedge
1	1%	2	2%	20	11%	hedge
3	2%	30	27%			1p singular indicative
3	2%	29	26%			no hedge
		1	1%			hedge
17	9%	1	1%			1p singular + modal
		2	2%			1p singular + quasi-modal
11	6%	5	5%			1p plural inclusive 'we' indicative
		2	2%			1p plural inclusive 'we' + modal
2	1%	2	2%			1p plural inclusive 'we' + quasi-modal
				7	4%	1p modal request
5	3%	2	2%	8	5%	2p request with modal
3	2%	1	1%	8	5%	no hedge
2	1%	1	1%			hedge
28	14%	16	14%	33	19%	2p indicative
24	12%	16	14%	32	18%	no hedge
4	2%			1	1%	hedge
34	17%	1	1%	1	1%	2p + modal
29	15%	1	1%			no hedge
2	1%			1	1%	hedge
13	7%	22	20%	37	21%	2p + quasi-modal
13	7%	19	17%	36	21%	no hedge
		3	3%	1	1%	hedge
7	4%	4	4%	4	2%	3p present indicative
33	17%	4	4%			3p + modal
1	1%					3p indicative + quasi-modal
		2	2%			3p indicative past tense
2	1%			7	4%	no main verb
				7	4%	indirect
				2	1%	indirect + modal

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T1–T15)

Table 5.1 shows the total instruction speech acts added up for each group and categorized into the speech act types presented in Table 2.1. In addition, each type is calculated as a percentage of the total instruction speech acts of that group, revealing the top type of instruction form used. The three most used types for each group are highlighted.

The data shows that on average all groups include bare imperatives as one of their top three favored instruct speech acts, though a large proportion of the In-In bare imperative tokens are produced by one speaker, Sneha (T9–10). In spite of this, it is still clear that the Scottish participants use bare imperatives much more frequently in their instructions than the Indian speakers do.

The high occurrence of speaker oriented first-person singular indicative instructions in the In-Am column is entirely attributable to one speaker as well, Som (T5–6), reminding us of the difficulty of drawing large conclusions over the data when individual variation plays such a major role. If this type of instruction were eliminated, second person indicative instructions would be added to the top three for that column. Intriguingly, that would cause the three highest frequency types in the In-Am column to match those in the Scottish column.

The data shows that the Indian speakers use bare imperatives less frequently with Americans than with Indian partners, though not significantly so. In addition, the Indian instruction givers appear to favor modal constructions more than do the Scottish speakers, who prefer quasi-modals instead.

**Table 5.2: Primary Instruction Speech Acts By Speaker: In-In**

T	total ISAs	primary ISA	e.g.	#	% of ISAs	secondary ISA	e.g.	#	% of ISAs
T2	31	2p indicative	("you move ahead")	17	55%	bare imperative	("come down")	5	16%
T4	88	3p + modal	("your way will")	33	38%	2p + modal	("you'd", "you will")	24	27%
T6	24	1p singular + modal	("I'll start from...")	17	71%	1p singular indicative	("I'm going in the direction of...")	3	13%
T8	19	1p plural inclusive 'we' indicative	("we go to the south")	10	53%	2p indicative	("you go north")	5	26%
T10	36	bare imperative	("take a right")	30	83%	2p + quasi-modal	("you need to")	3	8%



Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T2–T10)

**Table 5.3: Primary Instruction Speech Acts By Speaker: In–Am**

T	total ISAs	primary ISA	e.g.	#	% of ISAs	secondary ISA	e.g.	#	% of ISAs
T1	14	2p indicative	("you come/go")	9	64%	bare imperative		3	21%
T3	29	2p + quasi-modal	("you have to")	9	31%	3p + modal	("it will take a left")	4	14%
T5	34	1p singular indicative	("I go towards the right")	30	88%	1p singular + quasi-modal	("I'll have to...")	2	6%
T7	6	1p plural inclusive 'we' indicative	("we move south")	4	67%	1p plural inclusive 'we' + modal	("we will start")	1	17%
T9	28	2p + quasi-modal	("you need to")	13	46%	bare imperative	("keep coming down")	11	39%

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T1–T9)

**Table 5.4: Primary Instruction Speech Acts By Speaker: Sc–Sc**

T	total ISAs	primary ISA	e.g.	#	% of ISAs	secondary ISA	e.g.	#	% of ISAs
T11	49	2p indicative	("you start/go/are/have done")	23	47%	2p + quasi-modal	("you're gonna")	19	39%
T12	20	bare imperative	("go to your right")	11	55%	1p modal request	("I want you to", "I'd like you to")	4	20%
T13	28	bare imperative	("go round in a curve")	11	39%	2p + quasi-modal	("you need to/want to")	7	25%
T14	35	bare imperative	("Don't go towards...")	12	34%	2p request with modal	("can/could you go")	8	23%
T15	42	bare imperative	("go two centimetres left")	30	71%	2p + quasi-modal	("you're supposed to", "you have to")	8	19%

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T1–T9)

Tables 5.2–5.4 show each speaker's primary favored instruction speech act type, along with one secondary one. These are simply the types of instruction each speaker uses most often and second-most often in each map task.

Examples of the type from each transcript are included for reference. These tables make clear that while the Indian speakers have a consistent favored dialogue strategy across multiple interactions, they do not all use the same instruction speech acts to achieve this strategy. For example, while Anurag (T1–2) sticks with second person indicative instructions in both his map tasks as he pursues a speaker oriented strategy, Sneha (T9–10) almost exclusively makes use of bare imperatives when guiding the Indian partner, but adopts

more second-person quasi-modal constructions in conversation with the American follower.

This data again highlights the fact that the Scottish instruction givers much more consistently favor direct strategies than do the Indian instruction givers. Of the Scottish speakers 4 of 5 use the most direct instruction type possible, the bare imperative, as their primary instruct type, while only one of the Indian speakers does this, and she favors it only in one of her conversations. Once again, this might be a dialect or cultural pattern, or it could possibly be related to gender. Of the 7 map tasks instructed by a female (the 5 Scottish dialogues plus both of Sneha's), 5 feature bare imperatives as the primary instruction speech act type, while none of the 8 male-instructed ones do. However, again, since gender distribution was not a factor in the dialogue selection, this pattern has to remain partially unexplained.

**Table 5.5: Comparison of Major Instruct Speech Act Types**

	total ISAs	bare imperative		all with modal		all with quasi-modal		2p indicative	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
In-In	198	42	21%	89	45%	16	8%	28	14%
In-Am	111	18	16%	10	9%	26	23%	16	14%
Sc-Sc	174	68	39%	14	8%	41	24%	33	19%

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T1–T15)

Table 5.5 singles out four major categories of instruction speech act type common across all the transcripts: bare imperatives, modal constructions, quasi-modal constructions, and second person indicatives. For each of these types the number of occurrences is counted for each sub-group of participants and calculated as a percentage of the total number of instruction speech acts produced by that group.

Some points of interest are highlighted in the table. Again, it is clear that the Scottish speakers use bare imperatives to instruct at a much higher proportion than the Indian speakers do. The Indian speakers instead appear to favor the use of modal verb constructions. In fact the Indian participants use instructions that contain modals with a much higher relative frequency when speaking to fellow Indian partners than they do when interacting with the

Americans. In–In usage favors modals far above quasi-modals, while Sc–Sc usage is the reverse: quasi-modals take precedence over modals. Strikingly, the same Indian instruction givers appear to reverse on this tendency when they are instructing the American followers, in those situations taking on a pattern much closer to that of the Scottish dialogues. It is quite striking to see that the same Indian speakers favor modals in the one context (L2–L2), but in the L2–L1 situation seem to switch over to a pattern that partially matches that of the Scottish (L1–L1) usage pattern.

## 6. Comparing the Use of Modals and Quasi-modals

This chapter examines low-level dialectal politeness by differentiating and comparing the use of various modal and quasi-modal verb constructions in the map task instructions. This serves as an expansion of the initial study into modal verb usage patterns in Transcript 1–6, outlined in Chapter 2. A major goal of this project was to discover whether the results of that first study, which suggested that Indian instruction givers use modal verbs less frequently when instructing Americans than they do with Indian hearers, would hold true over a larger data sample.

**Table 6.1: Total Modals Occurring in Instruct Speech Acts**

instruction giver:	Anurag		Raj		Som		Tushar		Sneha		Helen	Lindsay	Sarah	Audrey	Haquila
follower:	<u>Am</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Am</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Am</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Am</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Am</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Sc</u>
modals	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8	T9	T10	T11	T12	T13	T14	T15
<b>can</b>	1	7	2	3	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
<b>could</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
<b>will</b>	-	-	5	52	1	17	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<b>would</b>	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-
<b>should</b>	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
<b>must</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total modals	1	7	7	59	1	18	1	4	-	1	-	2	-	12	-
total ISAs	14	31	29	88	34	24	6	19	28	36	49	20	28	35	42

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T1–T15)

**Table 6.2: Total Quasi-modals Occurring in Instruct Speech Acts**

instruction giver:	Anurag		Raj		Som		Tushar		Sneha		Helen	Lindsay	Sarah	Audrey	Haquila
follower:	<u>Am</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Am</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Am</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Am</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Am</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Sc</u>
quasi-modals	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8	T9	T10	T11	T12	T13	T14	T15
<b>going to/gonna</b>	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	2	-	-	-
<b>need to</b>	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	13	3	-	-	3	-	-
<b>have to</b>	-	-	10	10	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
<b>got to/gotta</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
<b>want to</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	1	-
<b>supposed to</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
total quasi	-	2	11	11	2	-	-	-	13	3	19	5	8	1	8
total ISAs	14	31	29	88	34	24	6	19	28	36	49	20	28	35	42

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T1–T15)

Tables 6.1–6.2 break down all the modal and quasi-modal verb constructions that appear in instruction speech acts in the dialogues. It is clear that there is a large amount of individual variation, but the Indian speakers undoubtedly produce more modal verb instructions than the Scottish speakers do. The only Scottish speaker who uses them regularly is Audrey (T14), who produces them as part of her secondary choice of instruction type, a second person request with a modal (see Table 5.4). In contrast all the Indian speakers use modals relatively frequently, with the exception of Sneha, who prefers imperatives and second person indicatives. The two most common modals used to instruct in the Indian dialogues are *can* and *will*. Modals *could* and *must* do not appear at all in the Indian data, and *would* appears only once (as an instruction—*would* is discussed further below).

The tables confirm the previous findings that modal *will* is the preponderant modal used in the Indian group, with participants Raj and Som producing the vast majority of them. If we compare this fact with Tables 4.1 and 5.2–5.3, it is clear that in the case of Raj (T3–4), these tokens are being produced in the course of his instruction strategy in which he mixes “directing partner” stance with a “describing route” approach. In both strategies he frames his instructions using a predictive/future imperative modal construction with *will*, whether describing the partner’s route (“your route will be passing from pool water and last arrow”, T4, p. 2), or describing the action he intends his partner to carry out (“you will come down and you will come all round the wooden cart”, T4, p. 3). In the case of Som (T5–6), modal *will* is produced entirely in the course of his speaker oriented instruction strategy in which all instructions to his partner are implied by his own future action along the route, for example: “So I’ll, uh, from start here I’ll go down I’ll go towards right a little, and then I’ll go down and then uh, take a U-turn from, uh, the place where pool of water is written, so I’ll just take a U-turn from there” (T6, p. 1). It is also valuable to note from this example that Som appears to go out of his way to repeat and emphasize the first person subject of each of his verb phrases rather than allowing them to become implied, which might create ambiguity between his strategy and an imperative approach. This repetition

and emphasis is largely responsible for the great number of tokens of modal *will* in his instructions.

Table 6.2 makes clear how much quasi-modal constructions are favored by the Scottish speakers on the whole. They are widely distributed except in the case of Audrey, who prefers modals instead. Quasi-modals are less common in the Indian dialogues, mostly restricted to Sneha (who prefers quasi-modals of obligation, such as “you need to do X”), and Raj, who uses quasi-modals along with modals more frequently than any other speaker.

Again these results reveal how much individual variation exists and how individual choice of dialogue strategy affects the frequency and distribution of modal constructions. However, it is still worth examining how the overall numbers trend when averaged out over each group, as long as caution is maintained in drawing conclusions.

**Table 6.3: Overall Modal Frequencies (In–In and In–Am)**

	to Am			to In		
	modals	/ ISA	%	modals	/ ISA	%
Anurag	1	14	7.1%	7	31	22.6%
Raj	7	29	24.1%	59	88	67.0%
Som	1	34	2.9%	18	24	75.0%
Tushar	1	6	16.7%	4	19	21.1%
Sneha	-	28	0.0%	1	36	2.8%
Total/avg	10	111	9.0%	89	198	44.9%

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T1–T10)

**Table 6.4: Overall Modal Frequencies (Sc–Sc)**

	Sc-Sc		
	modals	/ ISA	%
Helen	-	49	0.0%
Lindsay	2	20	10.0%
Sarah	-	28	0.0%
Audrey	12	35	34.3%
Haquila	-	42	0.0%
Total/avg	14	174	8.0%

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T11–T15)

From Tables 6.3–6.4 it is apparent that, even though modal verbs are far from evenly distributed throughout the dialogues and depend heavily on individual variation and strategy, there is still a striking contrast. These results match and extend those of the initial study in showing that in every case, on average, the Indian instruction givers produce more modal verbs when giving instructions to Indian partners than American partners. In addition, when the Indians are instructing Americans their overall average modal frequency matches very closely to that of the Scottish speakers, in contrast to what could be assumed to be the “natural” frequency in the In–In dialogues. Obviously this corpus is far too small make much of this, as the removal of just one participant from the study could drastically change the results, but it does provide a basis for further enquiry into these patterns.

Next we will examine the same patterns for quasi-modal constructions.

**Table 6.5: Overall Quasi-modal Frequencies (In–In and In–Am)**

	to Am			to In		
	quasi	/ ISA	%	quasi	/ ISA	%
Anurag	-	14	0.0%	2	31	6.5%
Raj	11	29	37.9%	11	88	12.5%
Som	2	34	5.9%	-	24	0.0%
Tushar	-	6	0.0%	-	19	0.0%
Sneha	13	28	46.4%	3	36	8.3%
Total/avg	26	111	23.4%	16	198	8.1%

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T1–T10)

**Table 6.6: Overall Quasi-modal Frequencies (Sc–Sc)**

	Sc–Sc		
	quasi	/ ISA	%
Helen	19	49	38.8%
Lindsay	5	20	25.0%
Sarah	8	28	28.6%
Audrey	1	35	2.9%
Haquila	8	42	19.0%
Total/avg	41	174	23.6%

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T11–T15)

Tables 6.5–6.6 show overall frequency of quasi-modals and their percentage of the entire instruct speech acts produced for each speaker, and averaged over each subgroup. As mentioned previously, comparing Tables 6.6 and 6.4 show

that the Scottish speakers use quasi-modals more frequently than modals. Conversely, In–In speakers use them less frequently. Surprisingly, once again it is shown that on average, the Indian speakers shift from their In–In “natural” frequencies to a pattern very close to the L1–L1 pattern when directing L1 speakers. However, these averages are covering over a great deal of individual variation, as Raj and Sneha are responsible for almost all of the increase in quasi-modal instruction tokens in the In–Am group.

One element of analysis that remains to be carried out is an examination of modal *would* and investigation of any non-standard usages. Table 6.1 shows that *would* only appears once as an instruction, in the speech of Raj to his Indian partner. The usage is as follows in context:

Raj: “Ok, so, from the start point, you just– just start the dots, like um, uh, like a straight dot... almost a dot of like one two three four five six seven, eight nine, alright? So, at the third dot **you’d** draw a half-moon...” (T4, p. 1)

According to Bautista (2004: 115), non-standard usage of *would* can be defined as any use in a “non-past, non-conditional context.” In the context of Raj’s use, his partner’s action of drawing landmark on the map is not strictly a hypothetical or conditional possibility, but the action Raj expects him to take. So this is indeed a non-standard use of *would* to instruct. Since *would* is used so rarely in these dialogues to instruct, it is useful to widen the scope slightly and examine all tokens of *would* in the transcripts, not just those used for instructions.



**Table 6.7: Total Occurrences of ‘would’ in All Tasks**

Instruction giver			non-standard		
			total		
<b>Anurag</b>	In-Am	T1	-	-	-
	In-In	T2	3	3	100%
<b>Raj</b>	In-Am	T3	-	-	-
	In-In	T4	1	1	100%
<b>Som</b>	In-Am	T5	2	1	50%
	In-In	T6	1	-	0%
<b>Tushar</b>	In-Am	T7	3	-	0%
	In-In	T8	7	-	0%
<b>Sneha</b>	In-Am	T9	-	-	-
	In-In	T10	-	-	-
<b>Helen</b>	Sc-Sc	T11	-	-	-
<b>Lindsay</b>	Sc-Sc	T12	2	-	-
<b>Sarah</b>	Sc-Sc	T13	-	-	-
<b>Audrey</b>	Sc-Sc	T14	1	-	-
<b>Haquila</b>	Sc-Sc	T15	1	-	-

Source: Map Task transcripts (see appendices T1–T15)

Table 6.7 shows all instances of *would* that appear in all the dialogues regardless of move type (i.e., not just instructions). Modal *would* is more common overall in the speech of the Indian participants (17 tokens) than that of the Scottish speakers (4 tokens), which is consistent with the Indian speakers’ preference for modals. Of the 17 Indian occurrences of *would*, 5 are non-standard by Bautista’s (2004) definition. All five non-standard tokens are shown here:

**Anurag:**

- (1) “... first is the biology class, come down straight, **you’d** find the rehearsal room.” (T2 In–In, p. 1)
- (2) “... you again take a turn and come straight down **you’d** see staff room.” (T2 In–In, p. 1)
- (3) “So you go up, make a U-shape, and then on the right-hand side **you’d** see ‘advanced lessons’.” (T2 In–In, p. 2)

**Raj:**

- (4) “So, at the third dot **you’d** draw a half-moon...” (T4 In–In, p. 1)

**Som:**

- (5) “... then if I go a little up, it **would** be diagonal to biology class... I have great cast.” (T5 In–Am, p. 2)

These are the same five occurrences uncovered in the initial study of transcripts 1–6. The four additional Indian dialogues contain 10 instances of *would*, none of which are clearly non-standard. This leads to no conclusive result regarding non-standard *would*. The feature is distributed unevenly, and only 2 of 5 Indian speakers exhibit it here. This once again points to individual preference playing a major role. Of the non-standard *would* tokens, 4 of 5 occurrences appear in the In–In dialogues, and only one in the In–Am data (Som–Nathaniel). This does not conflict with the idea of a developing feature of non-standard *would* in Indian English, but scarcity of the feature disallows any major conclusions either.

## 7. Conclusion

This project has been largely a data-gathering effort. Building on the work of Cowie & Pande (2011) with the India Map Task, as well as my own initial study on modal verb frequencies, the goal was to analyze in depth some of the grammatical features of instruction giving in the speech of Indian English BPO professionals, with a special focus on modal verbs. The India Map Task experiment carried out by Cowie & Pande (2011) provides a valuable opportunity to examine a specific type of discourse (instruction giving) in a controlled and structured setting where the variables are known. It also allows cross-cultural politeness strategies to be analyzed by comparing the same speakers performing the same tasks both with speakers of their own variety of English and with those of an L1 variety. Using the recordings from the India Map Task and the dialogue coding scheme developed by Carletta et al. (1996), it was possible to isolate instruction moves in the speech of participants and analyze them for dialogue strategies, individual speech acts, and grammatical features like modal and quasi-modal verb constructions.

As a result of that analysis, a number of measured conclusions can be drawn. At the level of overall instruction frequency, no clear dialect pattern can be seen to differentiate Indian English from an L1 variety. However, Indian speakers did exhibit a shift in behavior when instructing L1 speakers, consistently reducing the number of instructions given, words spoken, and density of instructions (per 100 words) from their behavior in the L2–L2 setting. A possible case of avoidance was found in the discourse of one participant (Som), which may have extended the length of the interaction, though it is unknown whether it affected the actual success of the route drawing task.

At the level of dialogue strategies, the Indian speakers were shown to be much more varied in their choice of primary instruction strategy than the Scottish speakers, who maintained a standard hearer oriented “directing partner” strategy. In contrast, the Indian speakers showed a tendency to adopt less direct strategies that stay further away from the inherently face-threatening act of explicitly naming the hearer in the instruction. Individual

variation was shown to be quite high in the Indian data, with each speaker having a favored strategy that he or she used throughout both interactions. Analysis at the speech act level strengthened the hypothesis that Scottish speakers favor direct strategies by showing that the majority employ bare imperatives as their primary type of instruction speech act. In contrast, most of the Indian speakers avoided such a direct strategy.

In addition, Indian speakers were shown to exhibit a preference for increased use of modal verbs in comparison to the L1 Scottish speakers. This pattern was most prominent in the In–In dialogues, but the pattern shifted when the Indian speakers instructed American followers, switching to a higher frequency of quasi-modals in comparison, a pattern that matched the Sc–Sc pattern closely. Within individual modals it was shown that *can* and *will* predominate in the speech of the Indian speakers and feature choice is tied closely to each speaker's chosen dialogue strategy, making individual choice and variation the deciding factor in modal verb frequency within the group. Non-standard *would* is shown to be unevenly distributed in the Indian data and rarely used to give instructions, though when non-standard usages do occur they are more likely to be used when interacting with fellow Indian English speakers than with American partners.

In conclusion, it is difficult to draw any overarching conclusions about cross-cultural politeness in the English of these Indian participants except for the following: (1) the Indian speakers appear to prefer less direct approaches to giving instructions than the Scottish speakers do, and (2) the Indian speakers shift in behavior at the speech act level and below when instructing Americans, while retaining the same favored dialogue strategy overall in both situations. This suggests that the differences exhibited in the two contexts may not be conscious. There are numerous cultural and conversational dynamics that could be involved as factors in these differences, and individual choice and variation clearly remains a large factor as well.

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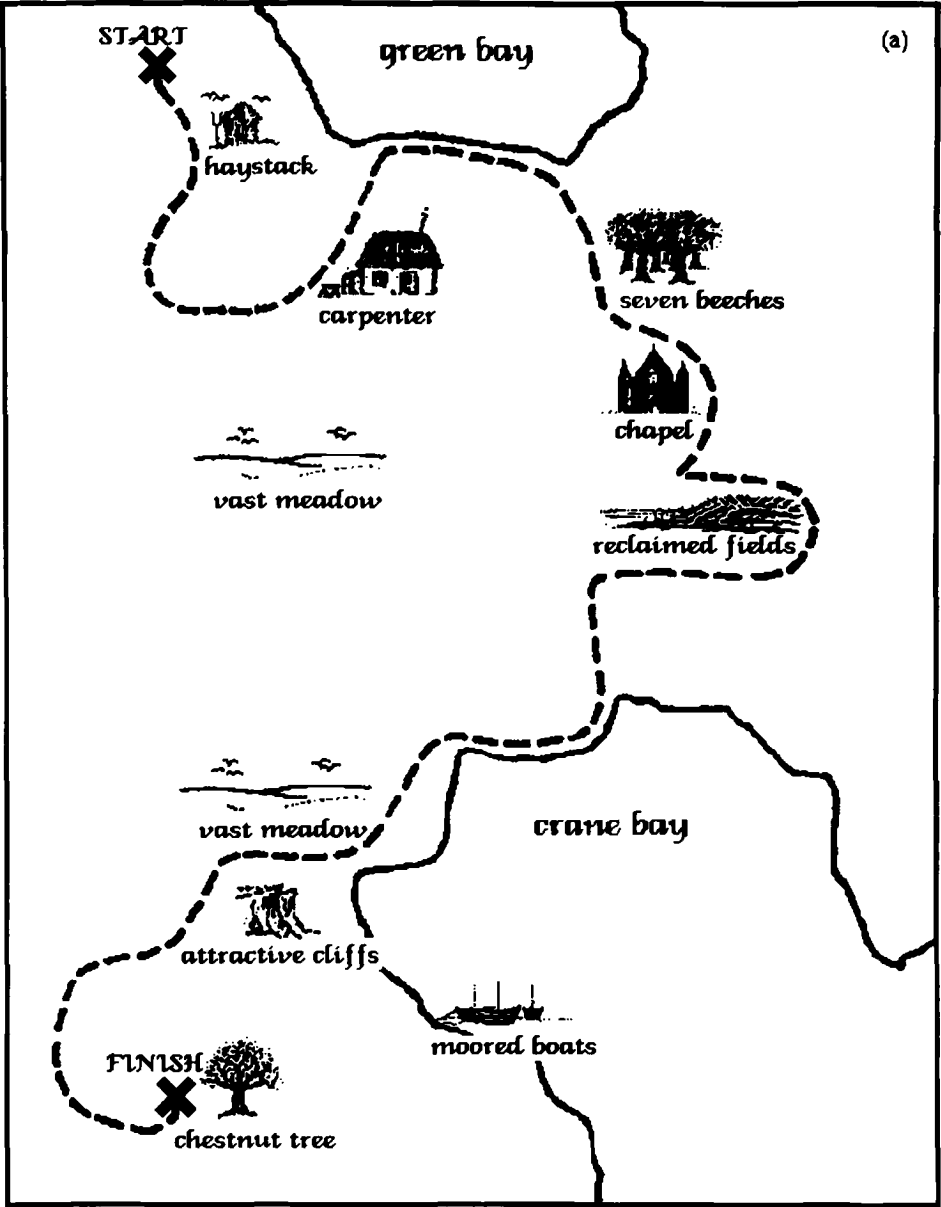


Fig. 1. Samples of maps used in the Map Task  
a. Instruction Giver's map

(Source: Anderson et al. 1991)



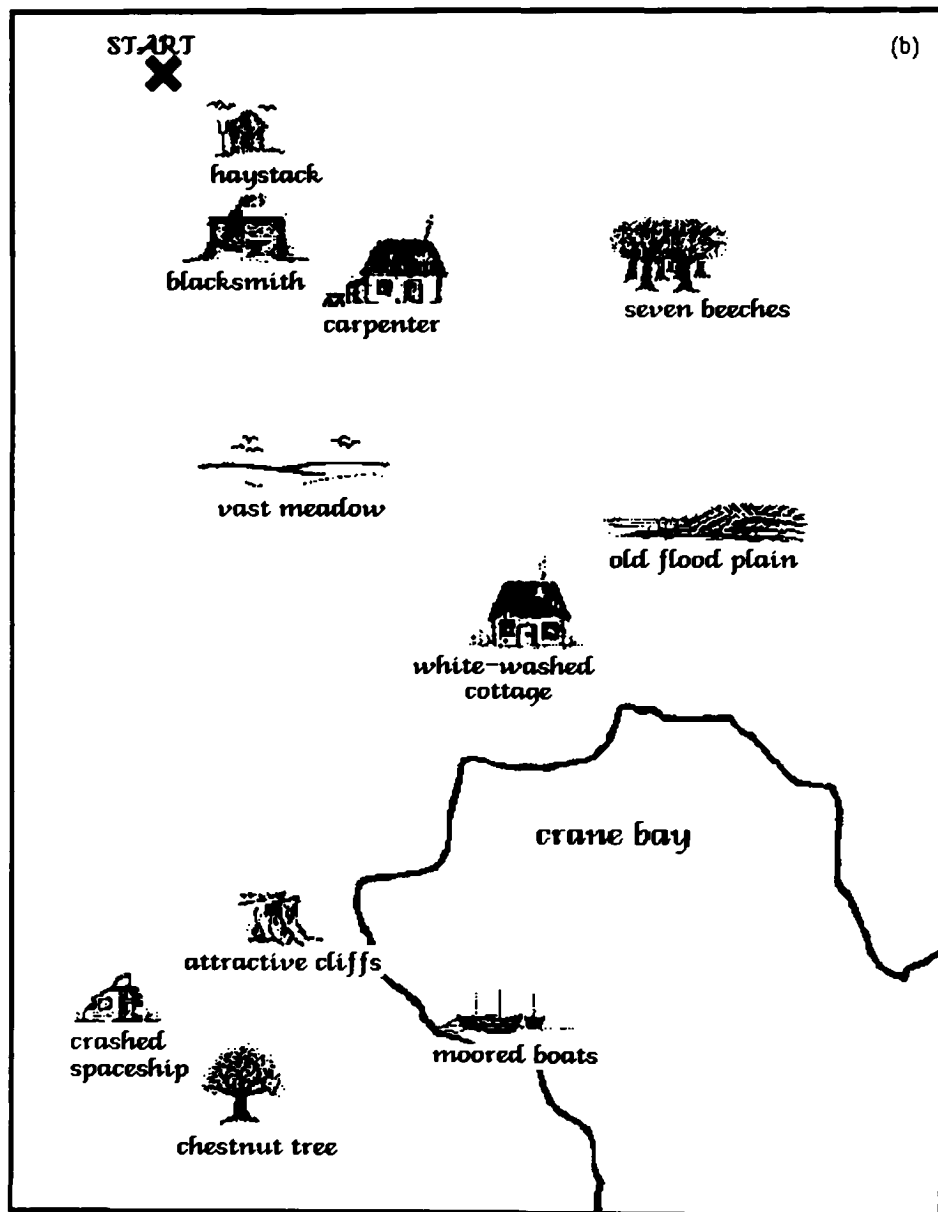
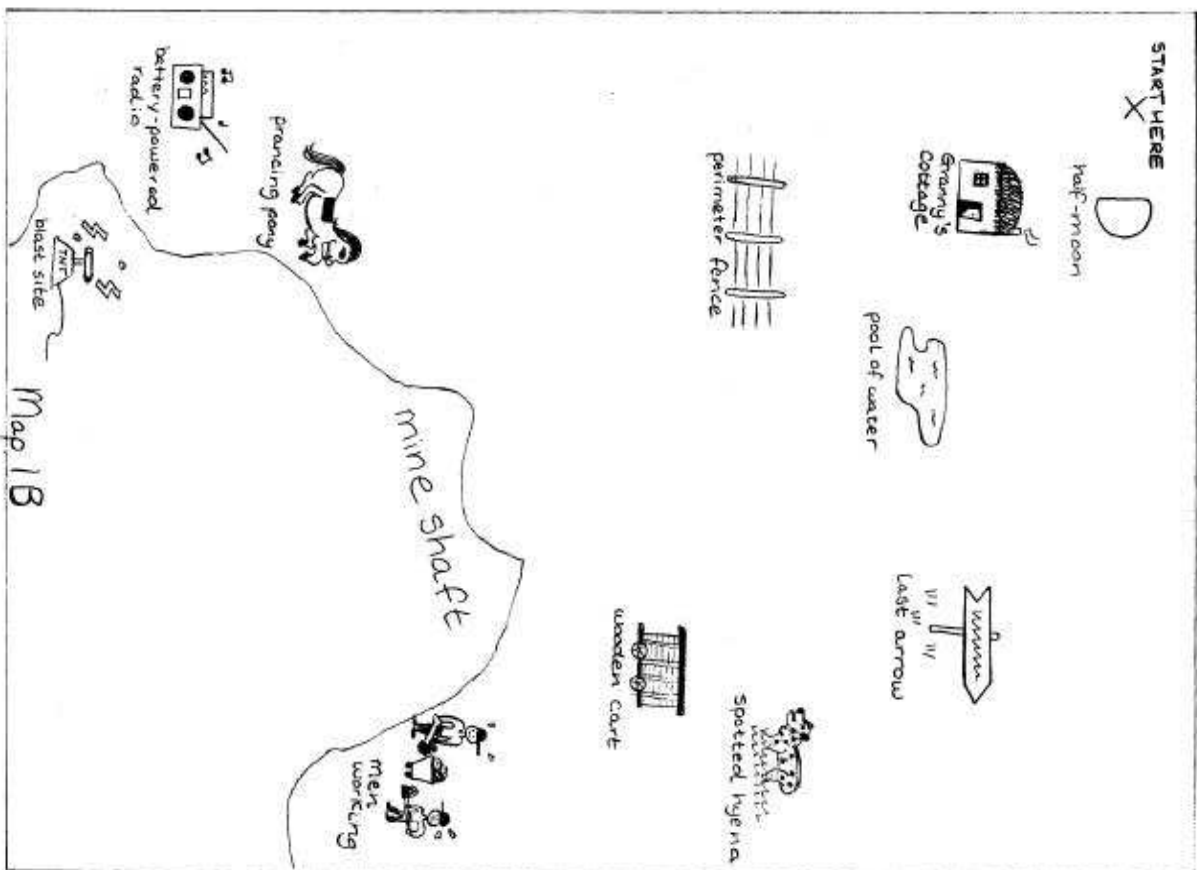
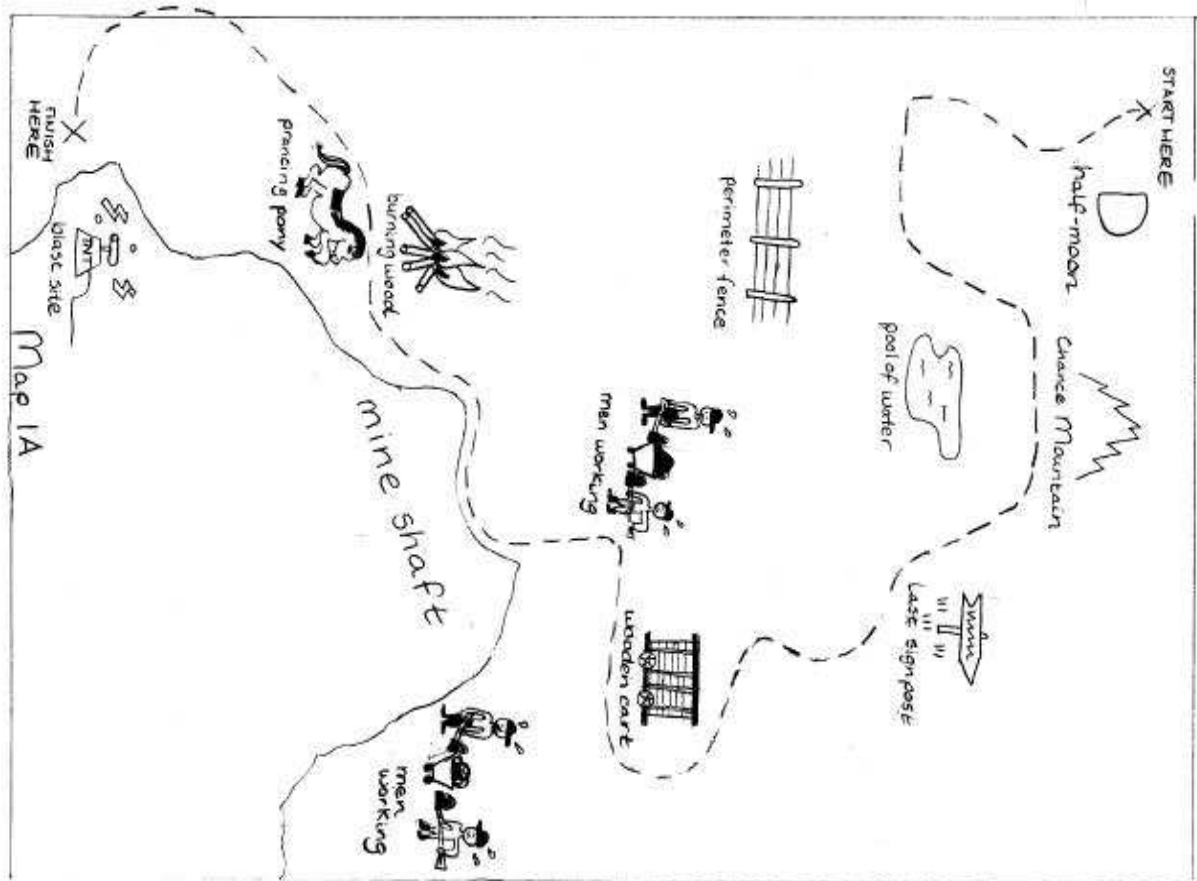
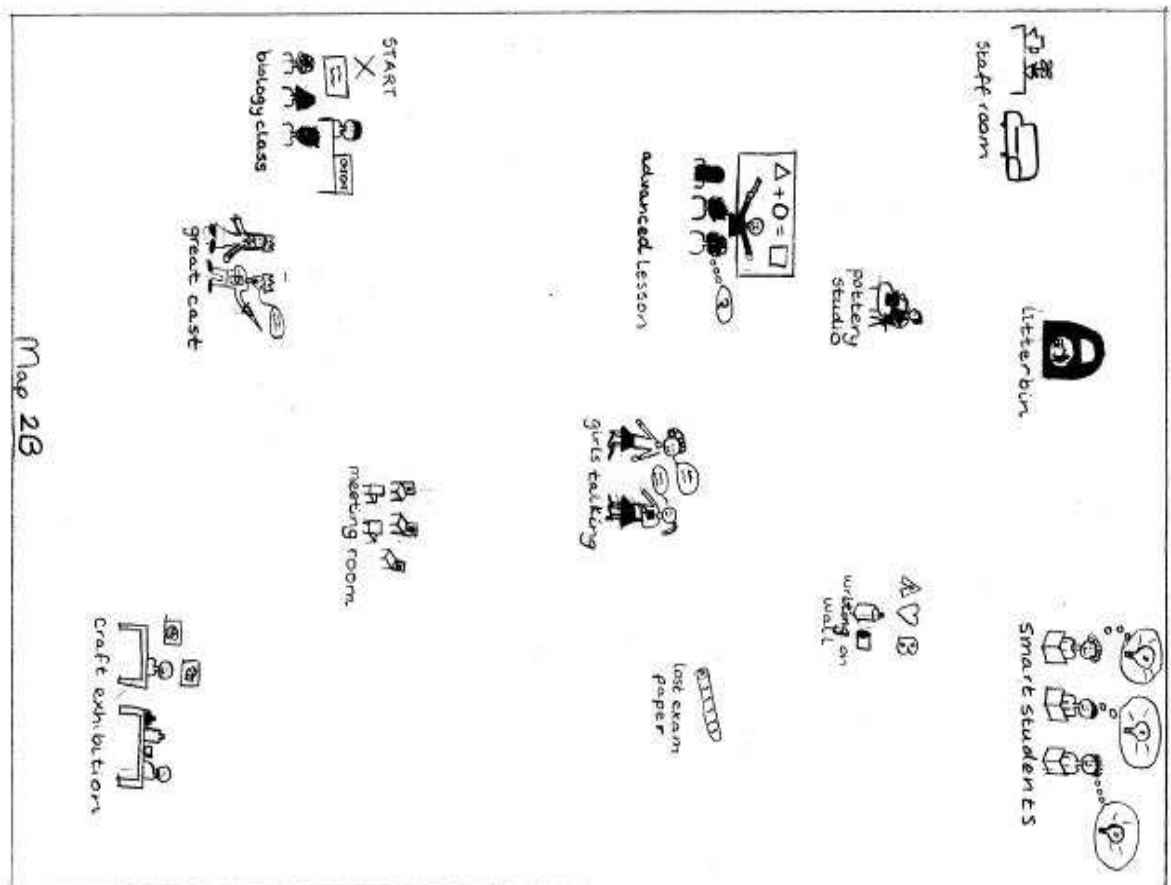
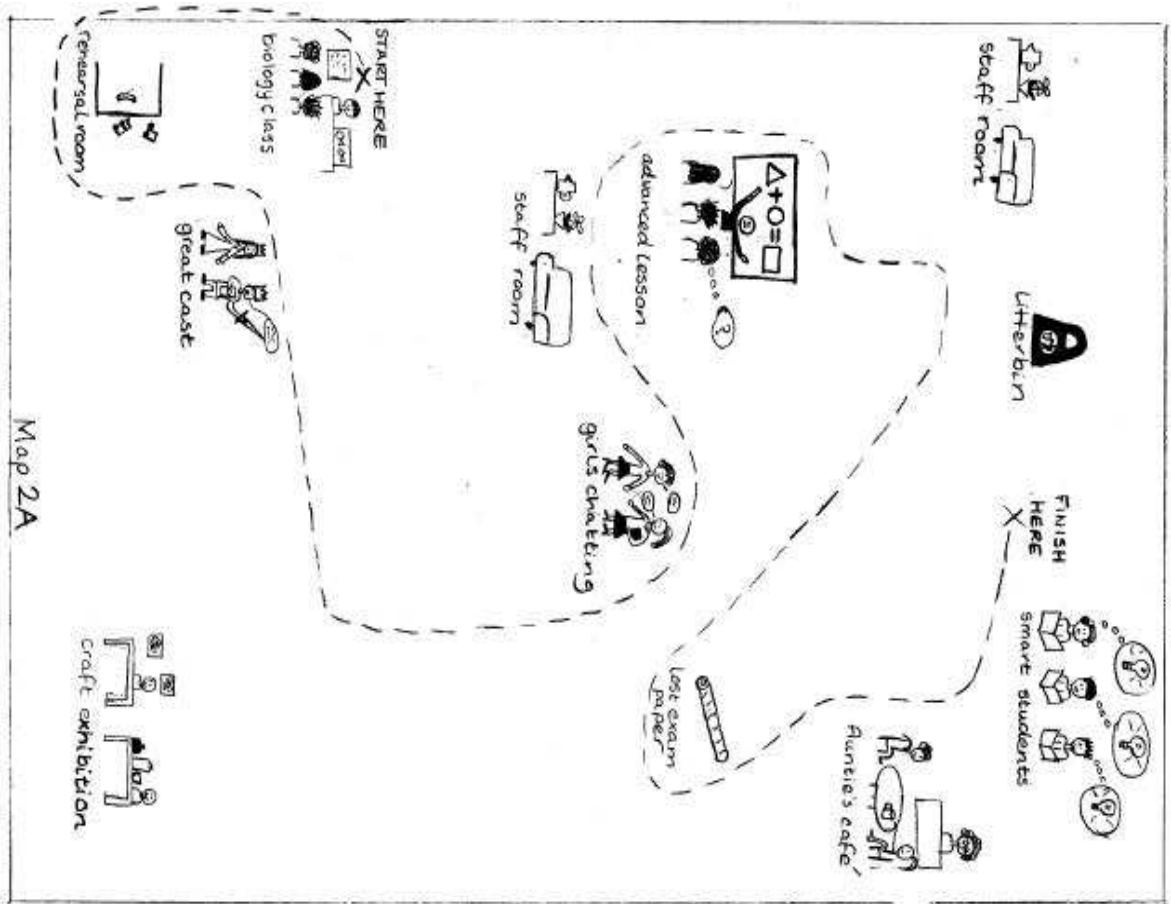


Fig. 1. Samples of maps used in the Map Task

b. Instruction Follower's map

(Source: Anderson et al. 1991)





## Transcript 1

### India-US maptask: Anurag (In) to Elina (Am):

Hi Elina.

Hi, my name is Anurag, and I'm from India.

Wow. By profession I'm into the HR. Mmhmm. So... Do you wanna start the assignment? Alright.

So... Uh, so where are you right now, I mean... how do you want me to go, where— **can** you tell me which point you are?

Absolutely.

Ok, so, you, you when you come from half moon, do you see the Mountain Chance? You don't have—?

Alright, so you— when you are at the half moon, you come straight down, and just keep moving... Now... No, I have a pool of water. Ok, so, just, uh, you know, opposite pool of water at the back side is the Chance Mountain. Do you have the last, uh, sign post?

**Can** you see... uh. Ok, then what do you have, the wooden cart?

Ok— Ok, now what I have is a, you know, just in fr—, behind pool of water is post, I mean the last sign post. And then you come straight down to the wooden cart. Ok?

So is like half moon first, then is the pool of water second, then the Chance Mountain; fourth is the sign spot... and at the bottom of the last sign post is the wooden cart.

Just a little further down you **will** have ah men working. Alright, and just uh, uh, you you you **can** see two men working right, in the picture? There are two men? So the one who is a little taller? Just behind him is the perimeter fence. OK?

Aha ok. For me I have got it over here. And then you come a little more straight down, there is... a mine shaft. Ok. And, uh, on the right of the mine shaft, again, I have men working. Right. So, as we continue to go down, we see on the right hand side men working and mine shaft, you come more straight little down and then you see the burning wood.

Is exactly below the men working. Um, uh, to be precise, do you see the perimeter fence? Just below the perimeter fence is the burning wood. And just below burning wood is the prancing pony. Ok, it's uh, yeah, right there. And... you go straight down there and then it's finished and you have the blast site.

Absolutely.

You got it?

Yeah, that's the end. So, do you want me to kind of, aha tell you again how, how it goes? Alright.

First the half moon, then you come straight down, and just keep moving a little, you know, take a U-turn basically, and go moving upwards, then there's a pool of water.

Then just above pool of water is the mountain, Chance Mountain. You come down, then last, uh, sign post. Then you come more down and you see the wooden cart. Just a little further is men of wo- men working. Now exactly the same, um behind, uh I mean the men working out of the two men, one behind, behind one man you **will** see the perimeter fence.

Ok. Now you come down then you see another men working on the right hand side of the corner, there is the mine shaft... then you see the burning wood, and just below the burning wood is the prancing pony. And then we're done, and when the TNT blast site.

Alright. Thank you so much Elina, it was so nice talking to you. You're welcome, buh-bye.

## Transcript 2

### India-India maptask: Anurag (In) to Sumit (In):

Hi Sumit.

Hi how are you doing?

I'm good too. Let me introduce you; I work with an IT company. And I'm into Human Resources.

Mmhmm. Alright. Wonderful. OK, so, do you think, uh, we **can** go ahead and start this? Alright.

So, what do you have on your map? At the start here, uh, point?

OK. OK. Mmhmm. Mmhmm.

OK. So **I'll** just uh, uh, help you to, you know, reach to the finish point. So **I'll** tell you what I have and how you need to go there. So, uh, at the beginning you know where we have the start here, uh, just at the same point, uh, where you [ ] starting I have a biology class. So maybe you **can** write that on your map, or a paper somewhere?

Biology. Yeah, yeah.

When you come down, when you come down a little further, you **will** see the rehearsal room. The rehearsal room? Rehearsal room? OK. Not a problem, so first is the biology class, come down straight, **you'd** find the rehearsal room. OK, then you move ahead— to the, to the top side like a U, you **can** just, you know the start comes first, the biology, the rehearsal and then go up, like a U-shape. On the right-hand side you **will** have a great cast? Do you have that?

OK perfect. So, you know it's a U-turn like, so biology class, rehearsal room, then you go up you have a great cast and then you move, uh, towards your right straight, like a road, ok? And then you go up, you go up, go up and then you **will** see girls chatting. Do you have girls chatting?

No, chatting.

Ok, so maybe you **can** write there 'girls chatting'... right?

Yeah perfect. So, yeah, we, we are just gonna keep it just like that. So, you know, the meeting room, and the girls chatting, and you again take a turn and come straight down **you'd** see staff room.

So you **can**— Mmhmm.

No, biology class, then you come straight down—

Rehearsal room, rehearsal room.

OK so biology class, rehearsal room, yeah, the great cast, then you go straight...

Then again move up... yeah, then you, you **can** put it as girls chatting on your left hand side.

OK? And then you take a turn like that, and come down.

Mmhmm. So, when you have this— yeah. So... you have a staff room then.

No, eh, when you are, when you have reached to the girls chatting point, you take a turn on your left-hand side, yeah, and make it kinda slope, you know, falling down on the left like a slope.

And then you **can** put on the left-hand side: 'staff room'.

Ok, then you go, kind of uh, again we need to make a U-shape again. So you go up, make a U-shape, and then on the right-hand side **you'd** see 'advanced lessons'. Yeah.

You **can** just put advan— yeah. Right. Then you go up straight, and then take a right turn. Perfect. Then go straight up. And then take a right turn, and make a slope down.

Where the slope ends, there is a 'lost exam paper'. 'Exam paper'. Ok, then you kind of again go up. It's gonna be again in a U-shape kinda you go up. You have Auntie's Café on the right hand side.

Ok, then you **can** put that point over there, Auntie's Café. And then you go straight right up, and finish it off. That's the end, at the finish point you **will** see, uh, 'smart students' on the right hand side, three of them; and on the left hand side you **will** see a litter bin and a staff room. Ok. And we are done Sumit!

Aha. Alright. You're welcome. Yeah, thank you.

### Transcript 3

#### Raj (India)

#### Elina (US)

Hi there!	Hello!
Hi, how are you?	I'm good, my name is Elina.
<i>Yeah myself Raj</i> [unclear]. Ok, uh... I have been presented one map over here, alright, so I think so we have to match the, uh, finish line— uh— we have to match till, like starting from finish line to the start line.	Mmhmm.
Ok, and uh, what I <b>can</b> see is like in front of me, um, I have just gone through the first map's, uh, situation and I feel that this <b>must</b> be pretty same to the previous one, so... uh, I just have a couple of idea about it if we <b>can</b> work it out we <b>can</b> just make it quite fast.	Ok.
Alright? So, uh, on my map over here I <b>can</b> see like the start point is being, uh, started from left-hand side of the page, and left-hand side bottom.	Ok.
Ok, um, so the start point is pretty starting from biology class.	Yes.
Alright, and uh, just below it I do have a rehearsal room?	Yeah, same with mine.
Alright, so, uh, what you have to do is like you have to just imagine, like um, just below um, biology room, like now, you have the biology class? Then a bit at right-hand side you have a great cast?	Um, I don't have that on mine, I have to the right of it 'great cast'.
Ok, so you have to create a rehearsal room, uh, below biology class.	Mmhmm.
Alright, so your start point <b>will</b> go from, uh, around the biology class, which is like starting from left-hand side, dropping to down, downwards, and taking a U-turn of it, and again crossing between biology class and great cast.	Ok.
Alright? So here you start picking up, uh, in right, right side straight direction.	Ok. Got it.
Ok, not upwards, it is like the ro— map uh, the road is going to its right-hand side.	Mmhmm.



<p>Alright. Um, after going to the right-hand side, what is the other landmark which you do have on your map—map?</p> <p>Ok, so we need not to go to the craft exhibition, so it <b>will</b> be still on the upper part of the great cast, because the line has passed, uh, between bio class and great cast, not below the great cast, it has been passed over the great cast.</p> <p>Alright, so apart from craft exhibition, what is the other one you have?</p> <p>Ok, and uh, is there anything above meeting room?</p> <p>Uhh, alright. Do you have anything girls chatting over there, on the map?</p> <p>Alright, so do you have anything like, uh, just uh left side, uh, below, uh like, I <b>can</b> say like, uh, almost a gap of like uh two to three centimeter do you have staff room?</p> <p>Ok. So, uh, I <b>must</b> say like we have to do this thing on basis of ma— imaginary. We have to imagine uh like uh there is a girls talking, ok?</p> <p>And you have to just create imaginary landmark, a staff room just above almost a full inch, four centimeters gap, you have to create a staff room just above biology class. Or you <b>can</b> say like 8 centimeters uh above of great cast.</p> <p>Ok. Just about 8 centimeter, 8 to 9 centimeter you have to create staff room. And you have to create uh one more landmark, just right-hand side between like almost uh two centimeters, girls chatting.</p> <p>So this— this two of them are coming at the center of the page.</p> <p>Ok? So now, we have created a road map which was— which has passed from great cast—</p> <p>Ok, now it <b>will</b> be picking up straight upwards...</p>	<p>Ok.</p> <p>Umm, a bit below there's craft exhibition.</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>Um, there's a meeting room.</p> <p>Above meeting room, the next thing is girls talking.</p> <p>Yes, I have girls ch— oh no, I don't have girls chatting, I just have girls talking. So...</p> <p>Ummm, uh I have it towards the top of the page, I have staff room.</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>Mmhmm.</p> <p>Ok, I see.</p> <p>Mmhmm.</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>Yes.</p>
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Uh yeah, till the center of the page, and then it <b>will</b> take a left, uh, turn, rounding the girls chatting.	Mmhmm.
Do you have advanced lesson?	Through the center of the page?
Ok, so your map, the landmark <b>should</b> show, like, the advanced lesson <b>should</b> be uh like the staff room <b>should</b> be below the advanced room— advanced lesson.	Ok.
Ok, yeah. So and the uh girls chatting is just right-hand side, uh, of the staff room.	Yes.
Ok. So above the girls chatting, or like talking, you have to cross the map between the advanced room and staff room.	Uh yeah, I have that.
Ok, so we have crossed that line, and then we <b>will</b> be rounding up the advanced lesson... Ok. So, now your map is bet— um just moving like a— like a snake shape.	Mmhmm. Yep.
It is just sliding like a circuit. And uh, later on <b>can</b> you see a lost paper?	Ok.
Right, right side of the page pretty close to girls chatting or girls talking.	Uhuh.
Ok, so now what we have done— do you have litter bin, top, on the top?	Yeah.
Alright, now we have crossed the advanced lesson, ok? So take your, uh, road very much close to litter bin, like almost three centimeter below litter bin.	Yes, that's on the right side of the page.
Ok, then you make a straight down fall to the lost paper, take a round turn of it. So again the road has come down. Ok? Take a round turn of lost paper, and then <b>can</b> you see Auntie's Café?	Yeah.
Ok, smart students?	Yes.
Ok, uh, you have to just create a finish point ne— like uh just near to the smart student, uh and smart student we have like two of the guys and one girl. So you have to create a X point near to the girl as a finish. Ok?	Ok.
And just take the map where we have left a lost exam and connect it to the finish point.	Yeah.
So, <b>can</b> you just uh let me know like what you have fr— drawn out?	No...
	Yes.
	Mmhmm.

<p>Mmhmm. Ok. Ok.</p> <p>Alright, I think so we have uh, made it pretty soon. And that's the perfect map.</p> <p>Alright, Elina, I think so we have done with it.</p> <p>Do you have anything else Anna? No, that's it. Alright Elin, it was nice talking to you!</p> <p>Alright, you have a great day. Buh-bye.</p>	<p>Ok.</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>Yes, I've drawn from biology class, over past great cast, then going up across girls chatting and in between staff room and advanced lesson, above to the litter bin, and then taking a sharp drop towards the exam paper, and then over towa- up towards smart students, the finish.</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>Ok great.</p> <p>Ok, you too!</p> <p>Ok you too, buh-bye.</p>
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## Transcript 4

### Raj (India) - Swapna (India)

Hi Swapna this is Raj here.

Swapna, right?

All s— yeah, alright. How are you?

I'm doing great, thank you so much [*unclear*]. Alright so, uh, basic— haha **can** you hear me, clearly?

Uh, ok we **can** start, uh so, uh, like, I have given a map, ok so, I **will**, uh I **will** guide you, um, with the like the from the start point, how the route starts, and uh along with the route I **will** be guiding you out, like where are the landmarks, ok?

All set? So, um, so I have like a basic idea about it, what **I'll** tell you is like when you're drawing a route, so, **can** you just draw a route rather drawing a line, **can** you just draw it in a dotted way, like a dash? Yeah.

Ok? Ok, so, from the start point, you just— just start the dots, like um, uh, like a straight dot... almost a dot of like one two three four five six seven, eight nine, alright? So, at the third dot **you'd** draw a half-moon...

Yeah... so... alright. Mhmmm.

Alright, so, first the thing is like the half-moon is drawn on your map, so at the left-hand side you **will** be taking your route from the left-hand side, you just draw the half-moon, uh, like draw your way, route— coming—

Uh, no, so you don't have to turn yourself, you have to come straight down till the level of pool water, ok? Try to draw first straight line till the level of pool water.

Uh, not exactly, that is not the route, haha. So the first, um, like how it is like um uh you are aware of the um, this thing Grand Prix circuit, have you seen the racing car circuit?

Ok, so the way it is like it is just in a zig-zag way, so basically, yeah. It's in the curving way, so, you have— **you'll** be starting from the half-moon, ok, so you **can** see the, um, moon-side on the right-hand side so you **won't** go from the right, **you'll** be coming from the left-hand side, draw straight till the level of pool water, ok?

Uh, no, it's— we are on the same, so basically the map starts from left, ok? Yeah. Yeah, so you just come straight down, so you **can** take a dash sort of route, like um, sort of drawing a l— mmm.

Right, exactly. Ok. So now you have to go to the, um, Chance Mountain. Ok?

Ok so the Chance Mountain will be just above the, uh, pool water. Ok? So now what you have to do I will tell you ok, the, alright got you, you don't have the Chance Mountain. So you have like right-hand side half-moon, ok? So leaving almost a space of like four letters, ok, you have to draw a mountain, just besides half mountain, ok it should be just below the— above the pool water. Yeah.

So now, you have to draw a way, st— like the start point will be like you— your way will start from the half-mountain, it will come down parallel to pool water. From there the route will go between, from Chance Mountain to pool water.

Alright. Right, exactly.

So— no. No, no. It's a zig-zag road, so exactly if you see, if you are— if you have drawn a straight line, from the start point to just adjacent to pool water, ok, it's not directly reaching to the pool water, ok there is a four-letter gap from the start point till the pool water.

Ok? So, basically what is happening, so now, it's like from Chance Mountain and pool water the route is passing in the form of 'S'. Yeah, in the form of 'S'. The horizontal 'S'. Yeah.

Haha.

Alright? So— yeah, sure.

Ok, so now, now what is the second landmark on your—?

Ok, so which is your landmark? Is it last signpost is there?

Last signpost?

No, you don't have to go to the pool water. Can you see anything such as, uh, 'last signpost' on your map? The landmark as 'last signpost'. Ok, alright, so no—.

Mmhmm. Last, last arrow? Alright, so— ok so I think so it's one of the same like last signpost and arrow, it's just for confusing. So now you are at Chance Mountain, so your route will be passing from pool water and last arrow, so it will be passing from in between of them.

Yeah.

Right, exactly, so now you will come down, ok, can you see wooden cart?

Ok, so you will come— yeah, but you will make a circle of it, a half-circle, like you'll be over-coming from the wooden cart, directly you won't reach, so you have to come from, uh like, you will come straight, then you will go from right side and you will take a turn, of wooden cart.

Umm. Uh, yeah, exactly.

So you **will** be going like right above from the– mmhmm.

No no, I don't have.

So, ok, just below you have Granny's Cottage? Right?

Uh... right just below... And at the right, like just next to it you have pool water right?

And above you have um, Chance Mountain. Alright, so that's the thing like I don't have the Granny's Cottage, ok, so now, like I was saying is like now your route map as I was saying it **will** start from um, a route **will** start from half, yeah half-moon, ok? Half-moon, it **will** go from left side, it **will** take a circle of Granny's Cottage, then again it **will** go– yeah.

No no, it, yeah. No, it **should** be like, it **should** be taking the 'S' form, like, yeah, so it **will** start from half-moon, then it **will** go from the left-hand side of the Granny's Cottage, then beside– yeah, then it **will** go, then it **will** go besides it, again it **will** be climbing up and it **will** be passing– yeah, yeah.

Yeah, it **won't** go up of the Chance Mountain, it **will** pass between Chance Mountain, yeah. Yeah.

Yeah, it's coming down, yeah it's coming down from pool of water to uh, arrow, arrow sign-board, right? So, after that, what do you have next you said? Is like um before wooden cart what do you have?

Ok. So, it's like um, you have to cross between the cottage hyena right? Spotted hyena, ok. Yeah you have to cross the route between the last signboard that is arrow, and spotted hyena, so it **will** just cross between them, yeah...

Yeah, all round the spotted hyena, then you **will** come down and you **will** come all round the wooden cart.

Ok? After crossing wooden cart, you **will** be having like few of the men's worker at left-hand side, there are, there are like two of the men's worker, right, or it's only one? So, if it is two you have to choose the left-hand side ok, not the right-hand side, the one which is near to mine shaft.

No no, not that one, **you'll** be choosing the one which is other one near to men's– men working, ok? So it, yeah, it **will** be, it **will** just, your route **will** cross besides men working and we have the um mine shaft, right?

Ok, so, the, just draw the way the mine shaft is, like, after crossing men's work– no, not, not the all, um, now if you see uh the mine shaft from right-hand side, ok? Ok, right-hand side, it starts as a like the first peak, ok? **Can** you see from the right-hand side the first peak? Ok? So your route **should** be like, be at close

to men's working, ok? And like you, your route **will** go down, ok, directly it **will** come down, and like at the first peak level, so the route **will** come at the first peak level, then it **will** take the curves of mine shaft.

Mmhmm.

Yeah, come till to the first peak... you **will**—.

No, you **won't** pass the guy, you **won't** pass the guy, you like the there are men's working and wooden cart, so you **will**, and in between them there is the first peak, right?

Yeah, kind of, in between them there is the first peak. No, you don't— yeah, like at the first \_\_\_\_ from the first men you **will** make your route, like, fall down to the peak, ok?

Ok, so the route has come down, so it's taking the curve of mine shaft, so you are over, like, you are taking your route just above the second peak as well. Ok?

No no, yeah it is following the mine shaft till the second peak, ok? So after crossing the second peak, do you have any of the other landmark, as burning wood? Ok, do you have burning wood?

Ok, not that one. So now, uh, you have, yeah I **will** just guide you. Do you have uh prancing pony? Prancing pony? Ok. So, you have to imagine a burning wood landmark just adjacent to the second peak, ok, so your route **will** be from second peak you **will** be crossing between prancing pony and burning wood. Ok?

Yeah, like, Chance Mountain and pool water, so same way the route, yeah— so yeah. So it's going to pass in between them, and all the way it **will** take a round turn of prancing pony and directly reaching to the finish point.

Then you have to reach directly to the finish point.

Ok just below, do you have it below the uh this thing? Uh... ok.

I think so it **must** mean the uh mine shaft, uh this thing zone?

Ok, so—...

Ok, so now, now our route has crossed the prancing pony, right? So take a big U-turn touching the corner of the maps, ok, so that it **won't** touch the battery, this thing, right? So take a U-turn and then, like um, at the end just adjacent to the blast site outside the mine shaft, you draw a finish point. Outside the blast site, you just draw a finish, finish point over there.

Alright? So, do y—...

No, it's no use of s—. So now our route looks like it starts from half-mountain, ok? Then we have, then we have Granny's Cottage right? Yeah it goes from, it

covers the Granny's Cottage, then it picks up, then there is a Chance Mountain and pool water, it crosses from in between that, ok? Then again the route crosses from like arrow site and pool water, yeah, then it– it takes a U-turn of, uh, what is the another? This thing?

Yeah, spotted hyena, it takes a U-turn from spotted hyena, then it takes a cover from wooden cart... ok?

Then it comes near to the men working, ok, the men working are pretty close to fence perimeter– perimeter fence. Right.

So from men working–

Mmm, no not end of the – you have to take immediate turn to the wooden craft. Ok.

Yeah, follow to the, uh, yeah.

Right.

Alright?

It does like um the way I'm telling you is like, now for an example if you take a U-turn to wooden craft, your route will be touching to the label of wooden cart, where it is written as wooden cart, then it will be touching to the handle of the men working... ok?

Then it will be touching to the handle of men working, and straight it will fall to the first peak of the mine shaft mountain. Ok tha– alright?

Then it crosses between the burning wood? Burning wood and prancing pony, and then it takes a long U-turn and just outside the mine shaft, mine shaft blast site, you – we make a finish point. Alright?

All set Swapna?

Alright. Yeah. Sure. Ok. Buh-bye.



## Transcript 5

### Som (India)

### Nathaniel (US)

Great how about you?

Alright–  
Som, Som **would** be better.

Ok. Mmhmm, definitely. We **can** start, uh do you want me to start?

Alright. On the upper left-hand corner, I have staff room first. Then I have, ok, then I have a litter bin.

Yes, I'm going from left to right. And then uh I have the point where I, where it says 'finish here'. Ok.

Yes, and after that I have smart students. So 'finish here' comes in between.

Then I go down from finish here, from the point of finish here to my, towards my right-hand side, down.

And I see Auntie's Café on the right-hand side, below smart students.

Ok so I have Auntie's Café, and I'm going down from there, I go down and I turn a little left, just a little left from the margin, where I **can** see lost exam paper.

Alright. So from finish here **I'll** have to just take a little right, then go down on the right-hand side I have to mark Auntie's Café, then go further down and, and take the mark from under lost exam paper.

Yes.

Sure, sure.

Ok, so we have the lost exam paper–

Hi, how are you?

Good thank you. So do you care to be called Som, or Somnath, or...?

Ok, good. So what I did with Vella is we described our maps to eachother, so we could hear what the differences were, shall we do that?

Um, sure. Start with the upper left-hand corner and tell me what you have, and if I have something different I'll tell you then.

Ok, same for me.

K. Going from left to right?

Ok. I have nothing obviously marked there. After the litter bin at the upper right-hand corner I have 'smart students'.

Good.

Ok.

Ok, I have no–. Hmm, I have no café.

Ok, I have that.

Wait, wait, you're giving me the path, yes?

Ok, let's, let's just make sure we have the same landmarks first, before you give me the path, ok?

Ok, 'cause then if if then in the middle you tell you me a landmark and I don't have it, I'll get confused. So you have, in the second row

<p>Yes.</p> <p>Nothing.</p> <p>So then I have lost exam paper, ok, so then I'm going up towards the left-hand side, towards staff room, and then, I go down a little, and I see advanced lesson.</p> <p>Ok, do you have it?</p> <p>Ok, now from advanced lesson, just below advanced lesson, I <b>can</b> see staff room again.</p> <p>Advanced lesson, yes.</p> <p>Alright, from there I go towards the right-hand side, towards lost exam paper, and I <b>can</b> see girls chatting.</p> <p>Ok, so girls chatting here, ok? So, from there I go down, down, and uh I <b>can</b> say this is very close to the left-hand side margin, and below staff room: biology class.</p> <p>Ok, and just from there I have the point which says start here.</p> <p>Exactly.</p> <p>So, from there I go down, and just below biology class I have rehearsal room.</p> <p>Ok, and then if I go a little up, it <b>would</b> be diagonal to biology class, on the right-hand side, I have great cast.</p> <p>Ok. So that's there, this is the path, and then on the—do I have to explain this as well Anna?</p> <p>Ok. Alright. So there that's the path.</p> <p>Absolutely. So just above biology class we have start here? So I go down from there, exactly down, and then I have rehearsal room.</p> <p>So I go down from rehearsal room and from great cast I go towards right.</p> <p>Yes that means I go from start, go down, rehearsal room, go up, and I—</p>	<p>down you have Auntie's Café at the right-hand margin... do you have anything to the left of that?</p> <p>Nothing, ok.</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>Yes.</p> <p>Ah, ok. Immediately below staff lesson? Uh advanced lesson?</p> <p>Ok, yeah, I have no second staff room. Ok.</p> <p>Ok, I have girls talking.</p> <p>Ok, I have that.</p> <p>Yes, mine says just above biology class.</p> <p>Ok, good.</p> <p>Ok, I have nothing there.</p> <p>Ok, I have that too.</p> <p>Ok. So take me from start to finish then.</p> <p>Yes?</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>Ok. You go from start to rehearsal room...</p>
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Yeah, we go, I go straight up and I take the path above great cast.	From rehearsal room you go straight up?
Towards right.	Ok.
So I take that, and I go right, and I take a turn, a left turn, and go up so that I <b>can</b> go above girls chatting.	Ok.
Now my path goes down, as in, it turns left, and I go over staff room, which is not there in your map, ok, so I go over staff room and go towards advanced lesson.	Ok.
So I go from there, and I take— I go to advanced lesson, go on top of it and then take a small turn towards right, and make a curve, and go up.	Ok.
Maybe, uh, three dots, and then again take a small turn towards right.	Ok.
And then go down, and I go down diagonally towards lost exam paper.	Ok.
So I go down diagonally towards lost exam paper, and I go below lost exam paper, and then take a steep U-turn above, towards Auntie's Café on the right-hand side, which is not there in your map.	Ah ok, got you.
So I uh take a turn there, and I go above, and just, um, as I go above I take a left turn again towards smart students, and I finish there.	Ok.
So smart students, in between finish point and then litter bin.	You finish—ok, got you.
Amazing. Alright. I hope I gathered it in a better way.	Ok! I think I got you.
Yeah this was, amazing.	Haha, that was kinda fun actually.
Absolutely, even me too.	I look forward to seeing the maps and seeing how well we did in the pairs.
Same here, have a nice day, take care.	

## Transcript 6

**Som (India)**

**Tejas (India)**

Hi Tejas.

[no audio]

Hi, how are you?

Ok. So uh, we have the same maps, so do you wanna start from the top, start here?

Ok. So I am gonna tell you uh– yes?

Yeah sure, sure.

Hi. No problem.

Ok so **I'll** start from start here and **I'll** keep telling you what do I see on my map, and uh, you **can** accordingly, alright?

So, **I'll** start from the left-hand side top...

So I see a start here point from there, so I go a little towards my right and then take a small curve and go down. I also see a half-moon, on the right-hand side, ok. So **I'll** go down from there and, uh, **I'll** take a U-turn towards Chance Mountain.

Do you have Chance M– ok. Chance Mountain, do you have last signpost? Last signpost.

Uhuh. Umm, diagonally I **can** see pool of water.

Ok. So **I'll**, uh, from start here **I'll** go down **I'll** go towards right a little, and then **I'll** go down and then uh, take a U-turn from, uh, the place where pool of water is written, so **I'll** just take a U-turn from there.

And **I'll** go over pool of water. Ok and then **I'll** go towards my right, down, I see last signpost there.

So **I'll** take uh, go down and **I'll**– go towards the right, and **I'll** take a small, uh, I **would** say turn, and then keep going right, and then I see wooden cart.

Alright, so there I **will** go over wooden cart.

And then go towards the left. Where I see men working.

Ok. So from there again **I'll** uh go towards the left and then from men working I **will** take a left... and go down.

Now, uh, as I go down, I have a mine shaft... so just follow the path of the mine shaft and then I see burning wood.

Ok and just below below burning wood there is prancing pony.

So I'm going in the direction which is between burning wood and prancing pony. So **I'll** take the direction from between them, and go to the extreme left, as in, uh, this left is going to, uh, touch the perimeter of the page.

So it comes and it touches it and then it goes a little, a little twist there and then the point which is finish here, just next to the point I **can** see blast site.

Alright?

Yes.

Haha. Right, and I believe I have told the right direction, and we have got the right direction.

Alright then, thank you so much, Tejas.

Alright take care.

## Transcript 7

### Tushar (India)

### Christine (US)

Hello.	Hello?
Yeah– Hi Christine how are you?	Hi, Kushar?
I'm good.	Hi– Good how are you?
So–	Um, ok so I guess whenever you're ready.
Yeah, shall we start?	Sure.
Yeah, ok so you have– we have the starting point over here...	Yeah.
Uhh... what do you have at the starting point?	Um, right next– just to the right of the starting point is the half moon, and just below–
That's right, I have the s– yeah?	Yeah just below the half moon is Granny's cottage.
Yeah, yeah, continue.	Ok.
Umm... well, I don't have it in my map, Granny's Cottage... so anyways we have different landmarks, so umm, uh we shall move ahead with– you know uh, the best way <b>would</b> be to go with directions.	Ok.
So I'll speak out the route in terms of directions, <b>would</b> that be ok?	Yeah, that's fine.
Ok fine. So, uh, we will start now, from half moon, that's the starting point, we go south.	Ok.
Um... then... do you have any landmark?	Ok.
Yeah that's right, even I have the pool of water.	Um, yeah so I have the half moon and then south east of the half moon I have a pool of water.
Umm... from the pool of water you can see towards the north there's Chance Mountain, I have that in my map, so do you have something?	Ok.
Ok fine, so uh, you got the direction?	Um, no I don't have Chance Mountain.
	To the east– to the east of the pool of water I have a last arrow?

<p>Uh, last arrow?</p> <p>Ok, I have the last signpost actually.</p> <p>Yep, so from Chance towards the east of– I mean, towards the east there’s the last signpost.</p> <p>Then we move south and we’ll see a wooden cart, do you have that?</p> <p>Ok fine.</p> <p>Ok, and towards the west there are men working?</p> <p>Yeah, that’s right, uh yeah, act– uh, is it south east?</p> <p>Ok, um, I uh I have them on southwest actually. Or west I <b>would</b> say.</p> <p>Uh, then in the middle we have the perimeter fence actually.</p> <p>Uh, it’s in the middle, nowhere actually, you know.</p> <p>Nowhere near the route.</p> <p>Um, yeah, that– that’s right.</p> <p>Um, then we move south from the place where the men are working.</p> <p>Uh, from the men working actually. I told you that the men are working towards– towards the left of the wooden cart.</p> <p>Yeah, got it?</p> <p>Ok. Then we– from the place where the men are working we go south, um, towards–</p> <p>Yeah, yeah, there’s a mineshaft, I mean it’s a big blank portion out here.</p> <p>Yeah. Yeah.</p>	<p>Yeah.</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>Uh, yeah. I have a wooden cart.</p> <p>Um, the men working are south east for me. Of the wooden cart.</p> <p>Yeah on my map they’re south– just south and east of the wooden cart.</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>Yeah I’ve got the perimeter fence.</p> <p>Yeah, it’s– It’s a little bit– It’s west and a little bit up, uh a little bit north of the wooden cart.</p> <p>From the fence or from– from the fence or from the cart?</p> <p>Oh ok, ok.</p> <p>The southwest? Ok.</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>Ok. I– that shows me going into a mineshaft, which I– Do you have a mineshaft?</p> <p>Yeah it’s a big blank portion on the south east of the map.</p> <p>Should I go into the mineshaft?</p>
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<p>And– No, no, no, you go left of it and you see the burning wood. Do you have?</p> <p>Ok, I do have that and uh, so do you have any other landmark instead of that?</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>Ok, I do have the blast site and the prancing pony, uh yeah even I have that prancing pony. And that is like uh southwest actually, so towards the left of the mineshaft.</p> <p>Yeah, uh and just above the prancing pony I have the burning wood.</p> <p>Uh, no, uh from the prancing pony you go uh to the– to the finish point actually, which is to the left of the blast site, just left of the blast site.</p> <p>So that's the finish point.</p> <p>Yeah, I think we have already completed the map, uh the route.</p> <p>So... yeah, I'll hand over to Anna now, ok?</p> <p>Yeah, nice talking to you.</p> <p>Yeah. Yeah.</p>	<p>Um, no I don't have burning wood.</p> <p>Um, I have sort of all kind of together in the south west of the map I have a prancing pony, and then south of that is a battery powered radio, and then south east of that is a blast site.</p> <p>Ok. Ok.</p> <p>Yeah, it's just left of the mine shaft.</p> <p>Ok, so should I go east or west of the prancing pony?</p> <p>Ok. Ok. Yep so that's–</p> <p>Ok great. So I guess, is that us finished?</p> <p>Ok. (aside: Um, I think we completed the route.)</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>You too, have a good day.</p>
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## Transcript 8

### Tushar (India)

### Nikhil (India)

Yeah hi, hi Nikhil.

So... so...

Uh, yeah sure.

Um, yeah you have the starting point right?

Yeah, ok, now um, I think the best way to go about this **would** be through directions, north, south, east, or west? Uh, **would** that be ok I mean, **would** you be able to understand?

Yeah...

Yeah, yeah sure.

Yeah. Ok. I'll uh— I shall help you in the best way I can, and um, now, from the starting point, um, uh, we go to the south.

And, uh do you have the landmarks with you?

Yeah, biology class is the landmark, ok I just wanted to confirm actually.

So, we are going south, and uh—

...and uh maybe we'll take— I mean you can draw the route through dotted lines, **would** that be ok?

Ok. uh, yeah.

You'll uh, go to the south.

Uh, you can draw like uh, 9 dotted lines.

This is just to make sure you know the distance, I mean I mean— you got my point.

Yeah. Yeah.

Yeah. Yeah.

Hello, hi Tushar.

Yeah hi.

So are we— are we set to map ourselves?

Ok, perfect.

Hello?

Yes I do, I do.

Y— uhhh, alright.

Uh, I hope so, I hope so, I'll give it a shot, if I don't then I'll ask you right or left so we can just start the way you're comfortable with.

Yeah. Ok.

Yeah sure. Yeah, sure. Yeah.

Go to the south, alright.

Uh yes I have biology class.

Yeah perfect.

Ok. So do you want me to go from biology class?

Alright.

Yeah sure that's not a problem.

Ok.

Yeah.

Alright.

Yeah yeah that's fine, the only thing is how long will these dotted line be for mine to be exactly what you want yeah. But that's fine I mean I cross biology class, ok, so what do I do after that?

<p>Now we reach the rehearsal room. And uh...</p> <p>Great cast. Uh, yep I do have that. I have the rehearsal room actually. So...</p> <p>I'm sorry?</p> <p>Yeah, uh, do that yeah.</p> <p>So you're at the great cast right now right?</p> <p>Ok fine. So now we go, ummm... towards the east. You can draw like dotted lines towards the east.</p> <p>Uh, there's no landmark over there, so you can- yeah-</p> <p>Uh no it's not there in my- in the sheet in front of me, so you...</p> <p>Uhhhh.. No you you go to the north now, I mean you went to the east. I'm sorry did I just say west? I didn't right? East, ok.</p> <p>Yeah to northeast actually. Yeah. To northeast.</p> <p>Yeah fine.</p> <p>Uh, then you go north, and you'll see girls chatting. Do you have that?</p> <p>Yeah, yeah it <b>would</b> be the same actually. Then we need-</p> <p>Uh yeah. You went north before that right? To reach there?</p> <p>Uh yeah, then we go to the west- yeah, then we find the staff room.</p>	<p>Uh see I don't have uh rehearsal room, uh, I have to the south east of biology class a landmark called great cast. Do you have that?</p> <p>Ok.Ok that's fine, alright. So do you want me to pass that as well?</p> <p>Do you want me to draw a line past that as well?</p> <p>Yeah ok perfect.</p> <p>Yes I am. I'm- from the biology class I've gone down to great cast.</p> <p>Ok. Can you tell me the landmark that you have so that...</p> <p>Oh ok, because I've got a landmark called meeting room there.</p> <p>Or even the craft- ok. Alright.</p> <p>Alright, so uh, should I go northeast or should I go exactly to the east?</p> <p>No no, you said- you said east, you said. So so from great cast I've got to go to northeast.</p> <p>Alright perfect, perfect, not a problem.</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>I've got girls talking, which would be the same wouldn't it?</p> <p>Yeah, ok girls talking.</p> <p>Yes, then I went towards the west. To girls talking. Uh huh.</p> <p>Uhhhh... I don't really have the staff room, do you mean, if there girls talking then to the left of girls talking that is to the west of girls talking there is a staff room?</p>
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<p>Yeah yeah, towards the west I mean there's the staff room.</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>No I don't have it no.</p> <p>So we— yeah.</p> <p>Yeah you go to the— I mean, west. Uh, you have advanced lesson with you right?</p> <p>Ok so you go north from the advanced lesson, then you have the litter bin.</p> <p>Yeah, ok.</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>Uh, ok, actually I have it in the uh, I <b>would</b> say south east. I have the staff room in the south east. I mean from where— do you know the girls are chatting? Then I go north and I find the advanced lesson.</p> <p>Ok. Yeah.</p> <p>Uh, go to the litter bin I mean. Yeah.</p> <p>So you're at that?</p> <p>Ok, then you go um south, southwest and you see the lost exam paper? From litter bin.</p> <p>I'm sorry south east.</p> <p>I'm sorry what?</p> <p>No no, I don't have— no no I don't have that.</p> <p>Yeah, that <b>would</b> be like uh south east.</p>	<p>See I— I don't have staff room but what I have got is an advanced lesson thing, and towards the north of that advanced lesson I've got pottery studio, do you have pottery studio?</p> <p>Ok, alright, so from girls talking I just go to the west.</p> <p>Yes, I do. Sure.</p> <p>Yes, I have a litter bin, yeah.</p> <p>No actually from girls talking, right to the north I've got something called a staff room, which is to the southwest of litter bin.</p> <p>Uh, ok ok then—</p> <p>Ah ok then we have it the other way round because I have got advanced lesson where you've got staff room, and uh, yeah yeah so so that's fine so should I go towards what you have advanced lesson in your map or should I go directly to the litter bin?</p> <p>Alright perfect. Ok. Yeah. Uhuh.</p> <p>Uh... no I actually have...</p> <p>From litter bin I have the... No no no... oh yeah I have but do you have writing on wall in between the litter bin and lost exam paper by any chance?</p> <p>Do you have a landmark called writing on wall in between the litter bin and the lost exam paper? Ok, so from litter bin I go straight down to lost exam paper?</p> <p>Yeah, that's south east, you're right, you're right. Ok.</p>
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<p>Ok. From exam paper we go north, and we see Auntie's Café.</p> <p>Ok. Smart students?</p> <p>That's where we end. That's the finishing line.</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>Yeah yeah, thanks– thanks Nikhil yeah.</p> <p>I'll pass this on to Anna.</p>	<p>Uhuh.</p> <p>Uhh... I don't have Auntie's Café in my thingy, uh in my uh.... map.</p> <p>Smart students..... yeah ok I've got smart students.</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>Ok alright alright.</p> <p>That's the finishing line ok that's perfect.</p> <p>Alright.</p> <p>Thank you thank you so much Tushar.</p> <p>Alright.</p> <p>Yes please.</p>
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## Transcript 9

### Sneha (India)

### Judith (US)

<p>Yeah hi.</p> <p>Umm— [Laughter] alright. So start point is uh on the page on the top left side, um then keep coming down down down, and then take a right.</p> <p>Then again go up. You need to pass in between, on the top of it there is Chance Mountain and below is pool of water so you need to pass through that I mean, in between you need to create a road.</p> <p>And.... yeah sure.</p> <p>We started from start here, keep coming down, umm, and approximately in the horizontal line of pool of water, till there you keep coming down, then take a right, again go up, and you need to pass um like you know in between uh the chance mountain on the top and pool of water on the downside of it.</p> <p>Pool of water is to the right side of the road. That you will create.</p> <p>Alright, then again from there you need to come down you can see uh last signpost?</p> <p>Ok so.... you have...</p> <p>Ok last arrow you have? So you pass the— from the top of pool of water again you need to come down, so the road is gonna be in between pool of water and the last sign post, I think you have last arrow over there, in place of last signpost. So from in between you come down, little bit of right, again keep coming down, and then you need to pass from the right side of wooden cart...</p> <p>Ok. Then uh from the wooden cart uh keep coming to the left, straight, and then can you see men working on the left side?</p>	<p>Hi. Yeah ok, now I have half moon for start here.</p> <p>Mmhmm. Uhuh. Ok.</p> <p>Mmkay. Ehm...</p> <p>Ok yeah cause I have, when I went all the way down— Uhuh.</p> <p>Ok is, uh I don't have Chance Mountain, is pool of water on the left or t— or, um—</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>Last signpost, where is that? I have last arrow.</p> <p>Uh cause I'm passing—</p> <p>Ok. Uhuh. Mhmm.</p> <p>Ok I see it, passing the spotted hyena, yeah?</p> <p>Yes. Yes.</p>
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<p>So before that you need to come down.</p> <p>Before that you need to come down, then keep coming down, again you'll see mineshaft, like uh—</p> <p>Yeah, right. Then you come down, keep coming on the left side of the page. And from the mineshaft there's curves you need to take. And you need to pass in between the burning wood and the prancing pony. Do you have? Both of the things?</p> <p>Ok, so prancing pony, uh on the top of it you need to make a road.</p> <p>Alright? And then keep coming down now, and then at the end of the ____ it has shown blast site. Before that like you know two centimeters, before, uh like centimeters on the left hand side you need to finish. That is the—.</p> <p>Uh, alright I don't have that over here. But it is uh, it is exactly on the left side of the page, like down—</p> <p>Right right right. So right there you need to finish.</p> <p>So from start here you keep coming down down down then take a— took a right, on top of pool of water you took a right, then again kept coming down, and passed in between pool of water and last signpost here and last arrow on your map, then again little bit of right, again curve, and then passed from the wooden cart, right side of wooden cart, kept coming towards left, on the straight road, then again kept coming down, and over there is the mine shaft in that curve keep coming, as the curve is showing you kept coming down, and from the prancing pony, on top of it you need to make a road and keep coming down, and at the end of the page on the left hand side you need to finish.</p> <p>Yeah? You got me?</p> <p>Hello?</p> <p>[aside: ...got disconnected]</p>	<p>Ok.</p> <p>Yeah, I'm passing the mineshaft to the left, below and left.</p> <p>Mhmm.</p> <p>I have the prancing pony to my left, so the—</p> <p>Mmkay. Yeah. Yes</p> <p>Ok so I finish at the battery powered radio.</p> <p>Right like is it like diagonally up from the blast site? Ok cool. Ok.</p> <p>Mmhmm.</p> <p>Uhuh.</p> <p>Right.</p> <p>Yeah? Hello?</p> <p>Hello?</p> <p>Hello? Yeah ok yeah.</p> <p>I got disconnected.</p>
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## Transcript 10

**Sneha (India)**

**Bipin (India)**

–how are you?

Yeah, sure.

Uh, so do you have the map in front of you?

Ok. Uh, can you see the start– uh, is the start point marked in your map?

Right. Uh, can you see the diamond mine? So start from the start point, come down, and–

Ok there is no diamond mine–

Oh noo..... ok, one second, one second, that was Anna the map. Uh, now, now we'll start again, actually now I have the right map with me [laughter].

Um ok, um, from the start point keep coming down, uh, keep coming down until the rehearsal room, yeah, yeah right, umm start like, uh towards the rehearsal room.

Right, then come down, and–

Ok keep coming down down down,

and then take a right–yeah, till the bottom of the paper—take a right,

Again keep going up,

Right, I have a great cast, from great cast you need to take a right turn,

Uh on, from the left of it.

Then– uh yeah, on the top of great cast then take a right,

Hi Sneha, how are you doing?

I'm doing fine. Should we begin with the conversation?

Ok.

Yes I do have the map in front of me.

Yeah it's uh on the left-hand side of the paper around uh, not exactly bottom, a little above that.

Ok. Uh, thing is I cannot, uh, there is no diamond mine here in my map.

Uh I have a biology class below me, do you have that?

Ok.

Uh, is there any biology class before the start light– ok. So I'll come towards the– ok fine.

Uh just one minute, I'll just come down from the biology class, and uh I don't have a rehearsal room here with me.

Ok, till the bottom of the paper?

Ok.

Uh, do you have a great cast?

Ok.

But great cast, do I have to go from the left or right of the great cast?

Ok from the left, then go on the top, right?

And then take a right.

<p>Right.</p> <p>Take a right keep– uh, meeting room... no no no I don't have. Uh from the great cast keep going straight, little bit, then take a left... left up.</p> <p>Yeah left up. Keep going up up– Yeah girls chatting.</p> <p>Uh actually uh I have girls chatting here.</p> <p>Ok so... girls chatting. And then from um upside of it... take a left turn,</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>Left turn. Then again you see staff room?</p> <p>Ok uh no problem then uh when you take a left, come little–</p> <p>...extreme top, no not that one, not that one–</p> <p>Ok, you have advanced lesson?</p> <p>So uh, from the girls chatting keep uh, take a left turn, keep little– come little down, and then again–</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>And then immediately again uh go on the right and up. Right up.</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>Right right.</p> <p>Below advanced lesson... right, go up. And then, again, go right...</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>Right, then again go left up,</p> <p>yeah it's above you.</p>	<p>Ok and do you have a meeting room?</p> <p>Mm. Ok straight. Take a left. Left up.</p> <p>Ok straight as in uh, left up to girls talking or lost exam paper?</p> <p>Ok. I have girls talking so ok fine. So I have to go towards girls uh chatting?</p> <p>Hmm? Ok just one minute. And go to uh girls chatting in your case?</p> <p>Ok go on top and take a left turn, right?</p> <p>Uh no, I don't have a staff room here.</p> <p>Hey wait wait wait, I have a staff room at the extreme top.</p> <p>I have an advanced lesson, I have a pottery studio–</p> <p>Yeah. Hmm. A little down?</p> <p>Ok.</p> <p>Ok so do I have to loop around the advanced lesson?</p> <p>Ok I have to make a loop around it right?</p> <p>Ok so I'll go below advanced lesson, then take a right and go up. Ok.</p> <p>Go right?</p> <p>Ok I've gone up, then go right, and uh the staff room is above me right?</p> <p>Pardon me? Yeah ok fine. So I have taken a right.</p>
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And then, right, again left.

Uh yeah towards staff room little bit, and then again take a right and come down to lost exam paper.

Uh litter bin is uh just next to staff room on the uh right side corner of the paper top—

No no no, not that, just down.

Below the litter bin.

Then uh come down, yeah, come down you will find lost— yeah right, so loop around the lost exam paper...

No I don't have.

Right, and then again go up... on the left-hand side, little bit on left hand side, keep going up up up.

Um, which line?

Uh see, from the advanced lesson we took right again left up, then immediately, then immediately right, and then you are coming down down down till the lost exam paper—

Right. Then loop around—

Down down.

Down and then uh keep going up towards left. So it'll be like U... that lost—

Right, got it? so keep going up, right, right.

Right, come up up up,

Smart students, and the finish line is just on the left hand side of the smart students. Over there you need to finish.

And then umm, yeah.

From the smart—

Right, on the left, little bit like two fingers distance.

Hardly two... and then over there you need to finish so

Left towards staff room?

But then do I have to— uh do you have a litter bin on your side?

Exactly so do I have to loop around the litter bin?

I have to go below the litter bin right?

Ok. And as I come down, towards lost exam paper—

Uh just hold on a sec, do you have a writing on wall, above the lost exam paper?

Ok fine. So I loop around the lost exam paper right?

So do I have to cross the line again?

See, from staff room I've take a right turn to come towards the lost exam paper, ok?

Yeah right went up to staff room. Yeah.

Exam paper— but no at the lost exam paper, from which side do I have to loop, from the left or right?

No but— no,

Ok U, got it got it got it, ok fine.

Yeah so I'll go down, right, then I'll come up and come up towards smart students right?

Ok, fine. So I come up there, I go to the left of smart students right?

Ok.

that's the finish point. So, so um in between litter bin and smart students, you'll finish.

More towards the smart students.

Ok, [chuckle], so do you wanna just umm you know tell me once how you have gone, and...?

Ok.

Ok.

Right.

Right.

Mmhmm.

Mmhmm.

Right.

Hmm.

Mhm.

Right.

Right.

Right.

Mmhmm.

Right.

Right. Exactly.

Yeah.

Uh one second.

Ok. But more towards the smart students.

Ok. I think the map is done, and looks pretty dirty [ready?], [chuckles].

Ok fine I'll just re-confirm the plan ok yeah.

I uh start first, then I go down, ok, from biology class, ok then I come up, come up and uh then there is a great cast, right I go from the left of the great cast, then I go up, and then I go up and then I see girls talking, then I loop around the girls talking from the right hand side, then go up, and then come from the bottom of the advanced lesson, and then again loop up, and then I loop up and then I go towards the staff room, then once I see staff room then I see a litter bin, so below the litter bin I take a right turn, take a right turn I go down, then I see lost exam paper, then I go uh, I loop the lost exam paper from below, so from the left, and then I again turn around and come up from the right, then as I come up from the right, on the top I see smart students, and then just two fingers on the left of smart students is my finish line.

Exactly?

Ok. Thanks Sneha.

Yeah. Sure.

## Transcript 11 - Scottish 1

**Helen**

**Lorraine**

Right okay. {fp|Ehm}, the start's up in the top left-hand corner.

Have you got that?

Just, {fp|ehm}, to the left of the burnt forest.

Okay, you've got the burnt forest?

Right, okay, you're gonna start coming down a bit and while you come down move slightly to the right.

You're gonna come down in a total of about three inches but in that you're gonna have a curve which curves to the right. Do you know what I mean?

So you start coming down and you curve to the right and then back out to the left again. So that by the time you get to three inches down you're {ab|s} you're about just directly underneath the start again.

Okay? Right, {fp|ehm}, then you move, you go to the right about an inch and a half. Have you got a ravine?

Right, okay, so you're going to come up, {fp|ehm}, to ... you're going to come up to the left of the ravine.

Then, do you have the remote village?

Right, well it doesn't really matter. You ... What you do is you come up, {fg|eh}, up the left-hand side of the the ravine.

{fg|Eh}, go along the top.

{fp|Ehm}, do you have the pine grove?

Right, so you're gonna go along, {fp|ehm}, the top of the ravine.

{fp|Ehm}, you're about {ab|a} an inch above the top of the ravine.

It's probably a bit too late to tell you that, but,

{gg|Mmhmm}.

Yeah.

Yeah. That's ...

Yeah.

{gg|Mmhmm}.

{fp|Ehm}, {ab|ye}

{gg|Uh-huh}. Yeah.

I do, yeah.

{gg|Mmhmm}.

{fp|Ehm}, no.

{gg|Mmhmm}.

{gg|Uh-huh}.

I do yeah.

{gg|Mmhmm}.

{gg|Uh-huh}

<p><u>{fp ehm}, and then you come ... Right so you go along you're about an inch past the ravine. {fg Eh}, you go down, you're going to come down on the left-hand side of the pine grove.</u></p> <p>Right. Okay, then, {fp ehm}, next thing you do is {ab s} <u>right you're at the {ab s} {ab s} at the sort of bottom left-hand corner of the pine grove.</u></p> <p><u>{fp Ehm}, you're going to continue going down but at the same time curving to the right.</u></p> <p><u>{fp Ehm}, so you ... about ... for about, {fp ehm}, down ... Have you got the concealed hideout?</u></p> <p>Right, so <u>you're curving to the right and then start coming back in about halfway between ... halfway down from the pine grove to the concealed hideout.</u></p> <p><u>{fp Ehm}, {ab s} right. So what you've done is you've come down, you've curved to the right, come back in a bit, then you're gonna curve back out again, round the right-hand side of the concealed hideout.</u></p> <p>Well you start off at the top of the concealed out, round</p> <p>to the right and then round</p> <p>under the bottom under the bottom where it actually {ab s} write ... is written {ci concealed {ab hide} hideout}.</p> <p>Okay? Right. {fp Ehm}, do you have the boat house?</p> <p>Right, okay. {fp Ehm}, right, <u>continue {ab s} in a straight line along to the boat house, until you're at the, {fp ehm}, bottom right-hand corner of the boat house. Nearly at that.</u></p> <p>Okay? <u>Then you're gonna go, {fg eh}, straight down for about an inch or a or a bit more. Do you have, {fg eh}, the crane bay {ab wri} mapped in?</u></p> <p>You</p>	<p>{gg Mmhmm}.</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>{gg Mmhmm}.</p> <p>I do yeah.</p> <p>{gg Uh-huh}.</p> <p>Is this {ab f} ... Do I curve around above the concealed hideout or below to the right-hand side?</p> <p>{gg Mmhmm}.</p> <p>Okay.</p> <p>Right I've got that.</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>{gg Mmhmm}.</p> <p>No.</p> <p>Yeah sorry, I do I do.</p>
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<p>don't? You do, yeah?</p> <p><u>Right, okay, so you're gonna come down and then follow the curve of that bay. You hit ... do you hit ... you hit the bay.</u></p> <p><u>Follow the curve of that, to ... Okay do you have the coconut palm?</u></p> <p>Right. Have you got the pebbled shore?</p> <p>Right. Okay {ab s} <u>Right you're gonna ... right, once you curve along the crane bay {ip til=until} you hit the bit that juts out.</u></p> <p><u>Right you're gonna go down. You're gonna {ab s}, {fg eh}, go you're gonna go down not straight down, curving slightly to the left. Okay?</u></p> <p>{fp Ehm}, <u>and then you're going to go straight along the top of the pebbled shore about a centimetre above the pebbled shore. Okay?</u></p> <p><u>Then once you reach the end of the pebbled shore you're gonna curve down to the left. Not curve it's a straight line, sorry, it's a straight line but, {fg eh}, sloping to the left.</u></p> <p>{fp Ehm}, <u>until you're about a good inch below the pebbled shore and you're about, {fp ehm}, a centimetre away from the side of the page.</u></p> <p>Right, {fp ehm}, okay. <u>Then you're gonna go, {fp ehm}, down the side of the page for about an inch just straight down and then start curving to the right again.</u></p> <p>{fp Ehm}, <u>and that's you're finished. If you leave it about an centimetre from from the, {fp ehm}, outline of the crane bay and the flagship. Do you have the flagship there?</u></p> <p>Right, <u>okay, so you're ...</u></p> <p>Yeah, that's it finished.</p>	<p>{gg Mmhmm}.</p> <p>{gg Mmhmm}.</p> <p>No.</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>{gg Mmhmm}.</p> <p>{gg Uh-huh}.</p> <p>{gg Mmhmm}.</p> <p>{gg Mmhmm}.</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>{gg Mmhmm}.</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>That's it?</p>
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## Transcript 12 - Scottish 2 (q3nc8)

Lindsay

Jonathon

1 Lindsay:

Right. Have you got the start above the haystack?

2 Jonathon:

Yeah.

3 Lindsay:

Right,

if you want to sort of {fp|ehm} ... head down towards the haystack,  
right,

pass it by on its left-hand side.

4 Jonathon:

Yeah, okay.

5 Lindsay:

Right?

And head more or less straight down maybe curving slightly  
towards your  
left.

6 Jonathon:

Have you got a blacksmith marked?

7 Lindsay:

No, I

8 Jonathon:

No.

9 Lindsay:

don't.

10 Lindsay:

{fp|Ehm}, head down for about, {fg|eh} two inches from the  
haystack,  
two and a half inches

11 Jonathon:

Two inches okay.

12 Lindsay:

Right,

{fp|Ehm}, go to your right towards the carpenter's house.

13 Jonathon:

All right well I'll need to go below. I've got a blacksmith marked.

14 Lindsay:

Right, well you do that.

15 Jonathon:

Do you want it to go below the carpenter?

16 Lindsay:

No, I want you to go up the left-hand side of it towards

17 Jonathon:

Okay.

18 Lindsay:

green bay and make it a slightly diagonal line, towards, {fp|ehm}  
sloping to the right.

19 Jonathon:

So you want me to go above the carpenter?

20 Lindsay:

{gg|uh-huh}.

21 Jonathon:

Right.

22 Lindsay:

Towards the bay.

23 Jonathon:

The bay?

24 Lindsay:

Have you got the bay, no?

25 Jonathon:

What crane bay?

26 Lindsay:

Green bay.

27 Jonathon:

No, I don't have a green bay.

28 Lindsay:

Right okay,  
well head up above the carpenter's house

~~29 Jonathon:~~

~~—Right.~~

30 Lindsay:

for about, {fp|ehm}, it should be about an inch above it.

31 Jonathon:

Okay.

32 Lindsay:

And head ... slope slightly down the way for about two inches.

Right?

Do you

33 Jonathon:

Right okay.

34 Lindsay:

have the seven beeches?

35 Jonathon:

Nope. {fg|Oh}, yes I do sorry.

36 Lindsay:

You do.

Right, go down past them on their left-hand side.

37 Jonathon:

Okay.

38 Lindsay:

And stop when you get to where it says {ci|seven beeches}.

39 Jonathon:

Okay.

40 Lindsay:

Now you're going to go underneath that bit. You're going to make a

slight curve, {fp|ehm} to the right, right? While it's still going down  
the way.

41 Jonathon:

Right.

42 Lindsay:

Because you're avoiding a chapel which I don't think you've got.

43 Jonathon:

No. So I'm going right?

44 Lindsay:

{gg|uh-huh}, you're going right. Make it a curve sort of,

45 Jonathon:

Down the way?

46 Lindsay:

Down the way, {gg|uh-huh}. Out towards the right-hand side of  
your  
paper.

47 Jonathon:

Okay, how far

48 Lindsay:

Right.

49 Jonathon:

out towards the right-hand side?

50 Lindsay:

Not too far, just like

51 Jonathon:

Okay.

52 Lindsay:

you were drawing a circle but not quite.

53 Jonathon:

Right.

54 Lindsay:

{fp|Ehm}, now you're slightly less than an inch below the chapel.  
You haven't got the chapel. Ha ha ha

55 Jonathon:

No.

56 Lindsay:

You're about two and a half inches below the seven beeches. Right  
you're above the

57 Jonathon:

{ab|T} and to the right of them?

58 Lindsay:

{fp|Ehm}, not really, you're underneath them.

59 Jonathon:

{fg|Oh}. {fg|Oh} no I'm not.

60 Lindsay:

Well you should be.

61 Jonathon:

Right.

62 Lindsay:

You should be just above the reclaimed fields.



63 Jonathon:  
Right, okay I can go down there.

64 Lindsay:  
Right {fp|ehm}.  
And, I want you to come above them and round to the right-hand side of them and underneath them.

65 Jonathon:  
Right.

66 Lindsay:  
Right? {ab|Dri}

67 Jonathon:  
Down to the right-hand side?

68 Lindsay:  
Round the right-hand side and come right

69 Jonathon:  
{fg|Oh}, right.

70 Lindsay:  
along underneath them.

71 Jonathon:  
Okay.

72 Lindsay:  
And stop when you get to the line where they stop.

73 Jonathon:  
Right, okay.

74 Lindsay:  
And I'd like you to come straight down the way towards crane bay.

75 Jonathon:  
Okay.

76 Lindsay:  
And when you get to that curve of crane bay stick closely to it.

77 Jonathon:  
Okay.

78 Lindsay:  
For ... until you get to that corner.

79 Jonathon:  
Which corner?

80 Lindsay:  
You see where the ... just opposite the {le|c} of {ci|crane bay}, diagonally opposite.

81 Jonathon:  
Towards the north of it, or to the

82 Lindsay:  
{gg|uh-huh}.

83 Jonathon:  
Right.

84 Lindsay:  
Right, now you're heading towards vast meadow and attractive cliffs.

85 Jonathon:

Well yes okay.

86 Lindsay:

Right.

Now I don't want you to stick to the coast,

just opposite vast meadow.

Right, you've got to come down in between vast meadow and the attractive cliffs.

87 Jonathon:

Okay.

88 Lindsay:

In a straight line between them once you've come down,

{fp|ehm} at a southwesterly angle towards them and then in ...

straight in between them.

Right?

89 Jonathon:

Right.

So I'm down near the attractive cliffs?

90 Lindsay:

{gg|uh-huh}, you're in between vast meadow and attractive cliffs.

91 Jonathon:

Okay.

92 Lindsay:

And then you come down in a southwesterly angle again, down the left-hand side of the attractive cliffs.

93 Jonathon:

Okay.

94 Lindsay:

Stop when you get to the bottom of them.

95 Jonathon:

Okay. Have you got crashed spaceship marked?

96 Lindsay:

No.

{fp|Ehm}, **I**d like you to head {ab|m} more or less westwards

curving

slightly down the way towards the left-hand side of the page very

close to the edge.

97 Jonathon:

Well I'm quite close to the edge. I mean how far down do you want me to go?

98 Lindsay:

I want you to ... well you're heading towards the chestnut tree but you're not, {fp|ehm} going diagonally towards it, right

Just come down the side of the page for about an inch and a half.

99 Jonathon:

Okay.

Then head towards the chestnut tree?

100 Lindsay:

{gg|uh-huh}. Towards the finish.

101 Jonathon:

Okay. Where's the finish?

102 Lindsay:

At the chestnut tree.

103 Jonathon:

Right, north of it?

104 Lindsay:

No, just by the side of it, at the the

105 Jonathon:

left-hand side?

106 Lindsay:

left-hand side of it.

107 Jonathon:

Okay.

108 Lindsay:

That's you. I hope!

### Transcript 13 - Scottish 3 (q5nc5)

**Sarah (489 words)**

**Danielle**

- 1 Sarah:  
Right. See the start?
- 2 Danielle:  
You got to say Sarah and Danielle.
- 3 Sarah:  
{fg|Oh}, aye Sarah and Danielle.
- 4 Danielle:  
Right.
- 5 Sarah:  
Right, see the start?
- 6 Danielle:  
It's above the diamond mine.
- 7 Sarah:  
Right.
- 8 Danielle:  
Right.
- 9 Sarah:  
Okay, I want you to go down about three inches.
- 10 Danielle:  
Where? Down past the diamond mine?
- 11 Sarah:  
Yeah.
- 12 Danielle:  
Right.
- 13 Sarah:  
Just down at the side. Just straight down.
- 14 Danielle:  
Okay.
- 15 Sarah:  
And then go round in a curve underneath the diamond mine.
- 16 Danielle:  
Right. {fg|Mm}.
- 17 Sarah:  
Then you want to start, like, carry on that curve for about four or five inches just gradually heading up the way. Right?
- 18 Danielle:  
So I'm making a curve round the diamond mine yeah?
- 19 Sarah:  
No no no no.
- 20 Danielle:  
No no no.
- 21 Sarah:  
Past the diamond mine.

22 Danielle:  
Pass it

23 Sarah:  
Not that not that steep a curve like just

24 Danielle:  
Yeah just slightly.

25 Sarah:  
Just just like a wee bit more than a straight line along past the  
diamond mine.

26 Danielle:  
Yeah, right okay. Right.

27 Sarah:  
I {ab|s} don't suppose you've got a graveyard have you?

28 Danielle:  
{fp|Ehm} no.

29 Sarah:  
Nope, right.

30 Danielle:  
I've got a fast running creek,  
and canoes

31 Sarah:  
Yeah, okay, what you want to do

32 Danielle:  
and things.

33 Sarah:  
is is you want to be sort of like going up and then curving right  
round  
the fast flowing creek.

34 Danielle:  
What round, up the top of it?

35 Sarah:  
Yeah, over the top

36 Danielle:  
Right.

37 Sarah:  
and down the right-hand side.

38 Danielle:  
Down the right-hand side.

39 Sarah:  
Right?

40 Danielle:  
Yeah.

41 Sarah:  
See your Apache camp?

42 Danielle:  
Yeah.

43 Sarah:  
Right. Head down towards that and then just curve down the left-  
hand  
side that.

44 Danielle:  
So, I'm bypassing canoes? Yeah.

45 Sarah:  
Canoes?

46 Danielle:  
{fg|Oh} well maybe you don't have canoes.

47 Sarah:  
No. I've no got any

48 Danielle:  
Right,

49 Sarah:  
canoes.

50 Danielle:  
okay left

51 Sarah:  
Do you see carved wooden pole?

52 Danielle:  
hand side of the apache ...

53 Danielle:  
{fp|Ehm}, no. Don't have one.

54 Sarah:  
No. You see the walled city?

55 Danielle:  
Yeah.

56 Sarah:  
Right well, when you when you're coming down the left-hand of the  
Apache camp  
just keep heading along and go over the top of the walled city.

57 Danielle:  
Over the top. Right okay.

58 Sarah:  
Okay

59 Danielle:  
{gg|Mmhmm}

60 Sarah:  
and then just like a nice big curve heading down about six inches.

61 Danielle:  
Now where ... Which way am I heading? Down.

62 Sarah:  
You see the carved wooden pole at the bottom?

63 Danielle:  
Aye.

64 Sarah:  
Well, you need to be about two inches ... you need to end up about  
two  
inches from the top of there.

65 Danielle:  
From the top?

66 Sarah:  
Two inches above it.

67 Danielle:  
And it's on the left.  
Well I'm coming from the left to go to above it?

68 Sarah:  
Yeah. Sort of curving round. Now see stone creek?

69 Danielle:  
Yeah.

70 Sarah:  
Right. You're just heading along past that.  
You see the flat rocks?

71 Danielle:  
No.

72 Sarah:  
No.

73 Danielle:  
No

74 Sarah:  
Great. Okay head up, {fp|ehm} past stone creek. You need to be  
going at  
about up ... curving up to the right at about a forty-five degree  
angle.

75 Danielle:  
So I'm going over stone creek?

76 Sarah:  
Aye

77 Danielle:  
Well above it anyway.

78 Danielle:  
On no way a minute. I have got flat rocks.

79 Sarah:  
Right, you well {ab|da} ... right you're going up over stone creek,

80 Danielle:  
Yeah.

81 Sarah:  
and your line's just about touching where flat rocks is written.

82 Danielle:  
Okay.

83 Sarah:  
So that's where you want to end up.

84 Danielle:  
Right.

85 Sarah:  
Now keep heading to the right a bit,

86 Danielle:  
{gg|Mmhmm}.

87 Sarah:  
further until you're about an inch away from the edge of the paper.

88 Danielle:  
Right. Right.

89 Sarah:

Right. See the buffalo?

90 Danielle:  
{gg|Mmhmm}.

91 Sarah:  
{fg|Ah}. Right, right head down the right sand hand side of the  
paper

92 Danielle:  
Yeah.

93 Sarah:  
And curve underneath the buffalo.

94 Danielle:  
Right.

95 Sarah:  
Do you see a cattle ranch no?

96 Danielle:  
Nope.

97 Sarah:  
Right. {fp|Ehm}, you see that fort?

98 Danielle:  
{gg|Mmhmm}.

99 Sarah:  
away at the other side.  
Right. You're heading to go under that, but like  
but like on your way about halfway between the buffalo and the fort  
there's a wee blip in your line,

100 Danielle:  
{gg|Mmhmm}.

101 Sarah:  
like you're going over the top of something and then coming back  
down,

102 Danielle:  
Yeah.

103 Sarah:  
and then going under the fort.

104 Danielle:  
Right.

105 Sarah:  
So just do that.

106 Danielle:  
and then go under the fort?

107 Sarah:  
Right, where are you now then?

108 Danielle:  
I'm under the fort.

109 Sarah:  
Right, you just want to curve up the left-hand side of the fort,  
just curve, a nice big curve round it.

110 Danielle:  
{gg|Mmhmm}.

111 Sarah:



And that's it, you're finished.

112 Danielle:

Good.

**Transcript 14 - Scottish 4 (q7nc3)**  
**(1109 words)**

**Audrey (902 words)**

**Kara**

- 1 Audrey:  
Audrey. Okay. Have you found ... can you go to the start {fp|ehm}  
position
- 2 Kara:  
{fg|Mm}
- 3 Audrey:  
please. There's a black cross.
- 4 Kara:  
Yeah.
- 5 Audrey:  
Right. Just below the start position there should be the site of a  
forest fire.
- 6 Kara:  
{fg|Mm}
- 7 Audrey:  
Have you got that?
- 8 Kara:  
Yeah.
- 9 Audrey:  
If you could start from the black cross and go slightly to the left and  
then straight down ... {fp|ehm}, past the {ab|s} to the side of ... the  
left-hand side of the forest fire ... the site of the forest fire and  
keep going sort of down very near to the edge of the page until you  
come to a picnic site. Have you got a picnic
- 10 Kara:  
No
- 11 Audrey:  
site.
- 12 Kara:  
I don't have that.
- 13 Audrey:  
{fg|Mm}. Have you got an adventure playground?
- 14 Kara:  
yeah. That's above to the right.
- 15 Audrey:  
Right, okay. Could you keep ... Don't don't go {ab|a} anywhere  
towards  
the {ab|pic} adventure playground just now.
- 16 Kara:  
Okay.
- 17 Audrey:  
{ab|Jus} ... Could you go down from, maybe the bottom ... You're  
still

on the very very left-hand side of the page. Could you go down from  
{ab|th} the writing that says {ci|site of forest fire}?

18 Kara:

Yeah.

19 Audrey:

down about four inches on the side of the page ... Just continue your path.

20 Kara:

Okay.

21 Audrey:

Okay. ... Right, and then can you stop about an inch from the bottom of the page?

22 Kara:

Okay.

23 Audrey:

and turn to the right

24 Kara:

Okay.

25 Audrey:

hand side and go along maybe for about two inches, just horizontally.

26 Kara:

Okay.

27 Audrey:

And then I'd like you to turn upwards, to

28 Kara:

Okay.

29 Audrey:

the direction of the adventure playground.

30 Kara:

Okay.

31 Audrey:

Okay, put ... and then just sort of skim along the edge of the adventure playground.

32 Kara:

Okay.

33 Audrey:

And you should see there's a sort of climbing frame.

34 Kara:

{fg|Mm}.

35 Audrey:

Could you come up to the top of the climbing

36 Kara:

Okay.

37 Audrey:

frame, and then turn right.

38 Kara:

Okay.

39 Audrey:  
Right. Okay. Now, have you got ... There's a ... {ip|til=until} you're just sort of ... Right. {ab|Tu} ... If you turn right and continue along horizontally for about six inches, ...

40 Kara:  
Okay.

41 Audrey:  
you should have above you a granite quarry.

42 Kara:  
Okay. {ab|W}

43 Audrey:  
Have you got this granite quarry?

44 Kara:  
Yeah. It's way above though.

45 Audrey:  
yeah {ab|it} that's okay. It's supposed to be

46 Kara:  
Okay.

47 Audrey:  
You're sort of ... You're {ab|horiz} ... You're level with the adventure playground but ... You have to ... Right, wait a minute. Go along about six inches from the adventure playground and then directly up.

48 Kara:  
Okay.

49 Audrey:  
towards towards the granite quarry.

50 Kara:  
Okay.

51 Audrey:  
And sort of turn ... Right, wait a minute. You just sort of ... The right-hand side of the granite quarry ... Can you go right up above the granite quarry?

52 Kara:  
Yeah.

53 Audrey:  
And then back down again. I don't ... Have you got any obstacles in your way?

54 Kara:  
{fg|Ah} ... Right, like directly diagonal from the adventure playground I've privately owned fields about four inches under the granite quarry.

55 Audrey:  
{gg|Mmhhh}. {gg|Mmhhh}. But you haven't gone through them have you?

56 Kara:  
No.

57 Audrey:

That's okay. Right. So. If you continue going right up above the granite quarry,

58 Kara: Okay.

59 Audrey: you should come to a train crossing. Do you have the train crossing?

60 Kara: {fg|Ah}, yeah, but it's up on the far left of my

61 Audrey: {fg|Oh} God.

62 Kara: paper. So

63 Audrey: {fg|Oh} right. There's {ab|t} actually two on mine so ... If you, {fp|uh}, you should have a granite quarry and then a waterfall. Well that's what I've got on my map.

64 Kara: yeah I have a waterfall to the left of

65 Audrey: yeah.

66 Kara: the granite quarry.

67 Audrey: But on this map there's a train crossing. So, if you could come down ... You go up above the granite quarry and then back down again but not too far otherwise you'll pass through the train crossing in my map.

68 Kara: Okay.

69 Audrey: So, if you keep going along just, about half an inch below the waterfall and right up to the left {ab|han} no ...

70 Kara: Right. What I did at the top

71 Audrey: {gg|Mmhmm}.

72 Kara: of the granite quarry was I made a right.

73 Audrey: {fg|Oh} no!

74 Kara: for about two inches. Or ... What should I have done?

75 Audrey: You should have gone to the left.

76 Kara: Okay.

77 Audrey: I'm sorry. Towards the waterfall. Sorry.

78 Kara:

That's okay. So then ... Okay. How far above the granite quarry should I go?

79 Audrey:  
About a couple of ... about half a centimetre.

80 Kara:  
And then go left?

81 Audrey:  
yeah. Sort of over the granite quarry in the direction of the waterfall. Just ... If you keep about two centimetres below the {ab|w} the writing that says {ci|waterfall}.

82 Kara:  
Do you ... Okay ... keep below it?

83 Audrey:  
{gg|Mmhhh}. Not too far though.

84 Kara:  
Okay.

85 Audrey:  
And then if you go up to the {le|w} of the waterfall and then straight up just about a couple of {ab|centime} ... No a centimetre away to the left of what the {le|w} of {ci|waterfall} ... straight up to the top of the waterfall.

86 Kara:  
Okay. I see.

87 Audrey:  
And when you get to the top of the waterfall ... {fg|Oh} you should ... Just go up above the waterfall about five centimetres, two inches.

88 Kara:  
Okay.

89 Audrey:  
And you should be {ab|n} {ab|n} ... You should be near to the train crossing ...

90 Kara:  
{fg|Mm}

91 Audrey:  
and cornfields.

92 Kara:  
Yeah.

93 Audrey:  
But don't ... Just stay where you are just now. Now if you go to the ... If you can look back quickly at the granite quarry you should see a fallen cairn.

94 Kara:  
Yeah.

95 Audrey:  
I want you to go {ab|wh} {ab|wh} from where you are to just below  
the  
fallen cairn {ab|t} ...

96 Kara:  
Okay.

97 Audrey:  
Just go past underneath it though.

98 Kara:  
Okay.

99 Audrey:  
And then once {ab|you} once you're past it can you turn back up to  
the  
left past ... and go up, up the way towards the limestone cliffs.  
Keeping on the left-hand side of the limestone

100 Kara:  
Should I ... After the fallen

101 Audrey:  
cliffs.

102 Kara:  
cairns,

103 Audrey:  
{gg|uh-huh}

104 Kara:  
should I just be going up straight?

105 Audrey:  
{fp|Erm}. Sort of veer a veer a bit to the left.

106 Kara:  
Okay. And then up above?

107 Audrey:  
{gg|Uh-huh}.

108 Kara:  
Okay.

109 Audrey:  
And have you got limestone cliffs?

110 Kara:  
No but I think I ... Do you have lion country?

111 Audrey:  
No I don't have

112 Kara:  
I think that's ... {ab|i}

113 Audrey:  
lion {ab|c}

114 Kara:  
it's ... {ab|tha} is where

115 Audrey:  
Okay.

116 Kara:  
you are.

117 Audrey:

Well sort of keep to the left of the lion country and keep going up  
the  
way for about ...  
from the fallen cairn, {fg|oh} no, about five centimetres ... Just keep  
going up past the lion country,

118 Kara:

Okay.

119 Audrey:

and you should come to an east lake.

120 Kara:

Okay.

121 Audrey:

Just ... Go ... Skim along the bottom of the east lake to the finish  
and that's you.

122 Kara:

To the finish. Where's the finish?

123 Audrey:

{fg|Oh} no. Between the cornfields and the east lake.

124 Kara:

{fg|Oh}

125 Audrey:

About

126 Kara:

Okay.

127 Audrey:

Just directly in the middle. And that's you.

128 Kara:

Okay.

129 Audrey:

Okay?



**Transcript 15 - Scottish 5 (q6nc3)**  
**(960 words)**

**Haquila (586 words)**

**Ewan**

- 1 Haquila:  
Right, at the {ab|bot} ... bottom of the map on the right-hand side  
have you got a missionary camp there?
- 2 Ewan:  
Yeah, I've got the starts marked.
- 3 Haquila:  
Right. Okay. To the left right, have you got {fp|ehm}, what is it, it  
says {ci|gorillas} with two gorillas and you know trees. Two
- 4 Ewan:  
No.
- 5 Haquila:  
trees. No?
- 6 Ewan:  
No.
- 7 Haquila:  
Okay. Right. Start from the top of the missionary camp. Right?
- 8 Ewan:  
Right, from the start cross?
- 9 Haquila:  
Yeah. Go two centimetres to the left.
- 10 Ewan:  
Right.
- 11 Haquila:  
Okay. Go down.
- 12 Ewan:  
Down towards missionary camp.
- 13 Haquila:  
Aye, just right down. {gg|Uh-huh}.
- 14 Ewan:  
Right, {fp|ehm}, I've stopped
- 15 Haquila:  
Then
- 16 Ewan:  
right above it.
- 17 Haquila:  
You've what?
- 18 Ewan:  
I'm right above the missionary camp.
- 19 Haquila:  
Just go right down to ... round ... down to the bottom of the {ab|r}  
... left-hand side of it.
- 20 Ewan:  
Right.

21 Haquila:  
    Okay.

22 Ewan:  
    So go round it?

23 Haquila:  
    {gg|Uh-huh}, round to the left ... the left yeah.

24 Ewan:  
    Keep going down?

25 Haquila:  
    {gg|Uh-huh}, just stop {ab|wh} when you reach the missionary  
    camp, you  
    know just about {ab|s} ... Then turn left all the way down, all the  
    way  
    along.

26 Ewan:  
    To the banana tree?

27 Haquila:  
    Yeah. I think that must be the gorillas.

28 Ewan:  
    I've got a thing that says {ci|banana tree}.

29 Haquila:  
    Banana tree I've not got that at all.

30 Ewan:  
    It's a tree with big leaves and it's got a bunch of bananas on it.

31 Haquila:  
    Well just go left. Okay?

32 Ewan:  
    Right. So should I stop there? It's just underneath the rope bridge.

33 Haquila:  
    Underneath the rope bridge.

34 Ewan:  
    You know it's ... it's about five centimetres down and slightly to the  
    left of it.

35 Haquila:  
    The rope bridge?

36 Ewan:  
    Do you not have that?

37 Haquila:  
    Yeah, I've got a rope bridge. You are supposed to pass through  
    {ab|th}  
    ... {fg|oh}. You're supposed to start from the missionary camp. Go  
    right down to the ... whatever, and go back right to the top. ... To  
    the rope bridge.

38 Ewan:  
    So I've got to go to the rope bridge?

39 Haquila:  
    Yeah, have to cross it.

40 Ewan:  
    Right, so I'm at the rope bridge.

41 Haquila:

Right.

42 Ewan:  
I just went straight north from the banana tree.

43 Haquila:  
Okay. Turn left, just cross it. Turn to the left.

44 Ewan:  
To the right.

45 Haquila:  
Left.

46 Ewan:  
Right ... It'll be right to get across it.

47 Haquila:  
Do ... Well you're supposed to be on the right-hand side of it.

48 Ewan:  
Well I'm on the left-hand side. I would just had to have just crossed the river.

49 Haquila:  
I think you must have different things on your map. Okay never mind.  
You're on the right-hand side of it yeah? Are you on

50 Ewan:  
I'm on the left-hand side of it and I'll need to go {ab|ri} ... right to cross it.

51 Haquila:  
Yeah, you have to {ab|cro} ... You have to go to the right-hand side of it.

52 Ewan:  
Right, so I'm on the right-hand side.

53 Haquila:  
Right go along. ... Okay ... {fp|Ehm}, go left about four centimetres. Have you got a waterfall?

54 Ewan:  
Yeah, it's on the right-hand side

55 Haquila:  
to your

56 Ewan:  
of the map.

57 Haquila:  
Okay right go that ... Go up to that.

58 Ewan:  
Right. I'm at the waterfall.

59 Haquila:  
Right, go straight up. Have

60 Ewan:  
{ab|To}

61 Haquila:  
you got lost steps?

62 Ewan:  
Yeah.

63 Haquila:  
Right. Go straight up to that.

64 Ewan:  
That's quite a bit up.

65 Haquila:  
Yeah.

66 Ewan:  
Right, I'm there.

67 Haquila:  
Right around it. Just from the top, right round it. Have you got  
fallen  
pillars?

68 Ewan:  
Yeah. So I've to go ...

69 Haquila:  
Right go right up to the lost steps right, go right round it from the  
top. Then go down to the

70 Ewan:  
Right round it cross my route.

71 Haquila:  
Yeah. Then go right right round it okay.

72 Ewan:  
Right.

73 Haquila:  
To the fallen pillars.

74 Ewan:  
The fallen pillars are down diagonally.

75 Haquila:  
Yeah.

76 Ewan:  
Past the gazelles?

77 Haquila:  
At the what?

78 Ewan:  
Gazelles I've got. They're about halfway down that diagonal line.  
Doesn't matter. Right, I'm at the fallen pillars.

79 Haquila:  
Fallen

80 Ewan:  
Just underneath the {le|s}.

81 Haquila:  
pillars.

82 Haquila:  
Fallen pillars right underneath the {le|s}. Okay you have to go right  
from there. Right ... right. Have you got ancient ruins?

83 Ewan:  
I've got ruined city. It's probably

84 Haquila:  
Well just go right to the top there.

85 Ewan:

the same thing.

86 Haquila:  
From there you have to go up to the ancient

87 Ewan:  
Do I go underneath the fallen pillars?

88 Haquila:  
Yeah underneath the fallen pillars.

89 Ewan:  
Right, and then go up to about where? About the middle of it or?

90 Haquila:  
The ancient the ancient ruins to the left of it.

91 Ewan:  
Right.

92 Haquila:  
Okay. Have you got stones?

93 Ewan:  
I've got rock fall.

94 Haquila:  
Rock fall ... to the left?

95 Ewan:  
It's to the right and up.

96 Haquila:  
Just go right up to there.

97 Ewan:  
Right, I'm at it.

98 Haquila:  
Right, okay.

99 Ewan:  
It goes diagonally up?

100 Haquila:  
Yeah.

101 Ewan:  
Right. It says {ci|rock fall} here.

102 Haquila:  
{ci|Rock fall} okay. Turn ... Have you got white mountains?

103 Ewan:  
Yeah.

104 Haquila:  
Right, go up to there, and

105 Ewan:  
I'll ... Do I go up the left-hand side of the rock fall?

106 Haquila:  
{fp|Ehm} ... {ab|no} I'd ... where are you? At the bottom of it or at the top of it?

107 Ewan:  
I'm at the bottom of it. I'm at the bottom ... bottom left-hand corner.

108 Haquila:  
Well just turn left. Don't go over it. Just ... just turn left.

109 Ewan:  
Turn right. Go underneath it?

110 Haquila:  
    {gg|Uh-huh}, go underneath it.

111 Ewan:  
    Right, {ip|til=until} I'm directly under the white mountain?

112 Haquila:  
    No, just {ab|o} ... you have to go over it.

113 Ewan:  
    So I go?

114 Haquila:  
    All the way round over it.

115 Ewan:  
    Right.

116 Haquila:  
    Then you go right all the way under it. Have you got soft furnishing stores?

117 Ewan:  
    No.

118 Haquila:  
    Have you got gazelles?

119 Ewan:  
    Yes.

120 Haquila:  
    Right, from the white mountains go right down to the gazelles.

121 Ewan:  
    Right I'm at the gazelles. They're {ab|a} ... sort of in the middle of the map.

122 Haquila:  
    {ab|An} ... No, and then turn left. Gazelles, Go right

123 Ewan:  
    Towards the ruined city?

124 Haquila:  
    round it.

125 Haquila:  
    No just ... you've got down to the gazelles yeah?

126 Ewan:  
    Yeah.

127 Haquila:  
    Just go underneath it right and just turn

128 Ewan:  
    Left or right-hand

129 Haquila:  
    {ab|le} ... {fp|ehm}, left.

130 Ewan:  
    side?

131 Ewan:  
    Right.

132 Haquila:  
    Turn left two or three centimetres, that's you finished.

133 Ewan:  
    Okay.